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ABSTRACT

The final evaluation of a literacy and health education development project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Translators Association of the Philippines (TAP) is presented. The project targeted seven cultural communities totaling 200,000 on the island of Mindanao, for whom literacy rates ranged from 1-5%. The health component trained local health workers to provide basic health care in the villages. Issues arising during the project include the ability of the literacy program to become self-sustaining, the need to address the relationship between literacy and development, and the role of TAP in community development. The program model was found well suited to the cultural setting and scope of program activity. The health practitioner program bridged a substantial technological gap with limited resources. Recommendations for program improvement include further efforts to make the literacy projects self-sustaining, extension of literacy skills to meet local development needs, expansion of the health practitioner program, and possible further TAP involvement in literacy, health, and community development. Program evaluation criteria, a policy statement on literacy programs, a literacy project case study, and a brief bibliography are appended. (MSE) (Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse on Literacy Education)

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LITERACY, HEALTH AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

FINAL EVALUATION

by

Stephen L. Walter

Evaluation Consultant

January 1989

Acknowledgments

The staff of SIL Philippines were very helpful and cooperative in arranging the details of the field trip on which the evaluation is largely based. In this vein I'd like to especially express my appreciation to Dick Johnson, administrative assistant to the Branch Director for his logistical support in making travel arrangements. This included working around the complications posed by two typhoons which hit the Philippines during the trip.

Similarly, Doris Porter, the Branch literacy coordinator worked hard putting together the field visits. She also provided much of the historical and technical background of the project and served as tour guide on the field visits.

Numerous members of SIL and TAP provided generous hospitality during the field visits, at times under rather difficult circumstances. Especially notable were Paz Labaro and Mila Cagape who hosted us during one of the typhoons and took care of Doris when she became sick.

In addition, I'd like to acknowledge the administrations of both SIL and TAP who freely made time available to discuss the evaluation and some of the implications of various options. Also, various government officials took the time to discuss education in the Philippines and the needs of the cultural minorities.

Finally, I'd like to acknowledge CIDA and its officials who are implementing the development philosophy of the Canadian government. Notable in this effort is a flexible policy which channels development assistance through a broad range of partners working in development and development related fields.

Stephen L. Walter
Evaluation Consultant

Executive summary of conclusions and recommendations

This is the final evaluation for a literacy and health education development project carried out jointly by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Translators Association of the Philippines, the latter a Philippine NGO.

The project targeted seven 'cultural communities' on the island of Mindanao with a collective population of some 200,000 people. Pre-program literacy rates among the target population (adults) ranged from less than one (1) percent to about five (5) percent.

The health component was designed to train local health workers, called 'practitioners', to provide very basic health care at the village level.

Project funding included a provision for the training and sponsorship (on a limited basis) of Philippine health and literacy specialists working under the auspices of the Philippine NGO.

Project achievements

Specific project objectives included 4,000 new literates, 80 new teachers, 50 new writers, 1,250 fluency class graduates, and the production and distribution of 20,000 pieces of literature in the seven target languages. Quantified objectives were not set for the health program, nor for the training of Philippine literacy and health specialists.

Project achievement was favorable generally exceeding specific objectives by about twenty-five (25) percent with two significant caveats. The number of new teachers trained was 321, four times the original objective while the number of fluency class graduates reported was only 740, about forty (40) percent less than projected (cf. 3.3.3 for details).

The health practitioner program was implemented on a large scale in only one target group, the Cotabato Manobo. Twenty seven (27) health promoters were trained and twelve (12) community health centers were established. As a result of the program, approximately

fifty (50) percent of the Manobo population of 15,000 now have ready access to rudimentary health care (very little was available prior to project initiation).

Thirty-one Philippinos received professional training in literacy and health care during the duration of the project. In addition seven played major roles in the literacy and health care components described above.

As no specific objectives were set for the latter two project components no comparative statements can be made about the accomplishment of project objectives. Nonetheless, both the health and training programs are viewed as positive accomplishments.

Issues raised by the project

The project and the project evaluation have raised three issues meriting comment in this summary. The first has to do with 'self-sustainability'. On the basis of strong project achievement and the establishment of a working indigenous infrastructure, the hypothesis has been advanced that, in two communities-- Blaan and Tboli, the literacy program has become self-sustaining (cf. 3.4 for an extended discussion of this issue).

The second issue has to do with the relationship between literacy and development. The project proposal did not include specific objectives relating literacy to development. Neither did project implementation seriously address the application of literacy skills to functional needs beyond some attention to numeracy.

The third issue deals with the role of the Philippine NGO (TAP) in development types of activities. Note is made of the strong contribution made to the health and literacy objectives of the present project and the potential for further such involvement is discussed in some detail (cf. 3.6).

Conclusions and recommendations

In terms of the meeting of its objectives, the project shows favorable results. The program model employed proved to be well suited both to the cultural setting as well as to the scope of activity spawned by project inputs. Reasonably solid local infrastructures developed to support project activity. The supporting

technology--materials, training, supervision, and technical consultancy--were judged to be of a very acceptable quality.

The health practitioner program is notable for the very great technological gap which has been bridged with so little educational and financial support. Even though the care provided is elementary, the coverage is good and the impact on the community is positive.

A number of aspects of program implementation which could have been stronger are noted in the body of the evaluation. None of these were of the sort to seriously compromise project success as per the original design.

The following major conclusions or recommendations grow out of the evaluation (cf. appropriate sections for a complete statement of these recommendations and the accompanying rationale).

-- The literacy projects have NOT reached a point of true self-sustainability. This fact, plus the amount of foundational work done and the infrastructures in place suggest that there should be further project follow-up.

-- The extension of literacy skills to appropriate development activities has not been adequately addressed. On the basis of felt need as well as to support ongoing use of literacy skills, it is recommended that attention be given to the need for additional functional literature suited to the needs and interests of the local communities.

-- Given the positive achievement of the health practitioner program and the evident need in other communities, it is recommended that serious attention be given to (a) strengthening the existing program and (b) developing one or more additional programs in other areas.

-- On the basis of its evident potential, a recommendation has been made to TAP that it evaluate for itself the option of developing greater strength and involvement in the fields of literacy, health and community development.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Acknowledgments i
Executive summary of conclusions and recommendations. ii
Table of Contents v
List of Annexes vii
List of Tables viii
Technical terms ix

1. METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE OF THE EVALUATION 1
1.1 Background 1
1.2 Methodology and scope 1
1.3 Typographic conventions 3

2. BACKGROUND 4
2.1 Introduction 4
2.2 General facts 4
2.3 Role of the Summer Institute of Linguistics . . . 5
2.4 Capsule description of the project. 6
2.5 Generic structure of literacy projects. 7
2.6 The health practitioner program 9

3. EVALUATION 12
3.1 Program Goals and Objectives. 12

3.2 Structure of Program. 17
3.2.1 Program Design. 17
3.2.2 Project implementation. 18
3.2.3 Project staffing and management 19
3.2.4 Training. 23
3.2.5 Supervision 24
3.2.6 Materials production and distribution 25
3.2.7 Native writers programs 29

3.3 Program effectiveness 30
3.3.1 General overview of program effectiveness . . .30
3.3.2 Statistical reporting system and procedures . .31
3.3.3 Results obtained by project 32
3.3.4 Cost effectiveness. 34
3.3.5 Difficulties encountered. 35
3.3.6 Lessons learned 37
3.3.7 Ongoing use of literacy skills. 38
3.3.8 Impact on other development needs and objectives. 40
3.3.9 Impact upon women 43
3.3.10 Concluding remarks on program effectiveness. .44

3.4 Self-sustainability 45
3.4.1 Introduction. 45
3.4.2 Self-sustainability from a structural evolutionary perspective. 45
3.4.3 Self-sustainability from an affective purposive perspective 48
3.4.4 What are the conditions for self-sustainability? 50
3.4.5 To what extent are the existing programs self-sustaining? 53
3.4.6 What are the necessary conditions for self-sustainability? 54

3.5 Significance of program 58
3.5.1 Importance of literacy and education for ethnic minorities 58
3.5.2 The provision of functional literacy materials relevant to personal and community development 59
3.5.3 Linking literacy and development in ways which reflect the felt needs of a community .61
3.5.4 Concluding summary. 61

3.6 Role of the Translators Association of the Philippines 62
3.6.1 Background. 62
3.6.2 TAP training programs 63
3.6.3 TAP contribution to funded projects 64

3.7 Networks and linkages 67
3.7.1 At the regional level 67
3.7.2 At the national level 68
3.7.3 Other NGOs and development agencies 68

4. SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. 70
4.1 Conclusions 70
4.2 Recommendations 71

List of Annexes

Annex A - Terms of Reference - Literacy, health and community development in the Philippines.72

Annex B - What constitutes a "complete" literacy program? 75

Annex C - A case study - The Tboli literacy project .78

Annex D - Bibliography. 81

List of Tables

Table 1. Summary of specific project objectives . . .15

Table 2. Summary data on results of literacy and health projects. 33

Table 3. Estimated costs per student for the Philippine literacy projects 34

Table 4. Comparative conditions for self-sustainability 52

Table 5. Regression curve of projected literacy program growth among the Cotabato Manobo .56

TECHNICAL TERMS

A list of technical terms is being supplied as an aid to the reader. There are several reasons for including the terms selected. First, agencies or entities referred to may not be well known to all readers. Secondly, the use of synonyms can be misleading if it is not clear that they are synonyms. Thirdly, a certain amount of jargon specific to a project or project setting needs to be defined to avoid confusion as to what is meant.

Branch - term used within SIL to refer to the semi-independent organization, specific to a given country, which is a part of SIL International. For example, if a member of SIL in the Philippines refers to "the Branch", he is talking about SIL Philippines.

Cultural communities - official term used in the Philippines to refer to the cultural and linguistic minorities living in that country. In the evaluation, the term, "ethnic minorities", is also used as a synonym for cultural communities.

Indigenous - term widely used to refer to aboriginal, autochthonous, or ethnic groups living in a country. In this evaluation, the term is most often used in the more generic sense of "internal to a definable community" regardless of whether that community is a cultural community or a whole nation.

Project - the term used generally but not entirely consistently to refer to the total package of activities embraced by the development project being evaluated. When components of the project are in focus, the term, "project component", is normally used. The term "program" has been used somewhat interchangeably and also generically.

Summer Institute of Linguistics - the private nongovernment organization which carried out the project being evaluated. Also widely

referred to by the acronym SIL. While SIL is an international organization, the use of the term in the evaluation is meant to refer ONLY to the branch of SIL operating in the Philippines. In the evaluation, the terms, "Branch", "SIL", "SIL Philippines", and "Summer Institute of Linguistics", are used somewhat interchangeably to refer to the same entity, SIL's Branch in the Philippines.

Supervisors - term used in project parlance to refer almost exclusively to those members of specific cultural communities who worked supervising actual literacy classes. The term is NOT used to refer to expatriate personnel who were also involved in project activities.

Technical personnel - term generally applied to SIL or TAP linguists, health professionals, or technical consultants who provided the technical foundation for the project.

Translators Association of the Philippines - a private nongovernment Philippine organization which works quite closely with SIL in the Philippines but is much smaller. It is also commonly known by the acronym, TAP. The organization figured prominently in project implementation.

1. METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE OF THE EVALUATION

1.1 Background

The evaluation set forth in this document is that of a package of literacy and health related development projects carried out under the auspices of the Philippines Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) between 1983 and 1988. Financial support for the projects was provided by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Alberta Provincial Government and channeled through a Canadian NGO, the Wycliffe Bible Translators of Canada, a sister organization to SIL. In kind support for the projects was provided by cooperating agencies in project implementation, notably SIL, the Translators Association of the Philippines (TAP), local community leadership and various Philippine agencies (on a modest scale).

The recipient communities for these projects are located primarily in the mountainous areas of Mindanao, the large southern island of the Philippine archipelago. In each case, these communities are characterized within the country as "cultural communities" and by many others as ethnic minorities.

In addition to the value of its in kind input, the Translators Association of the Philippines received some direct assistance for training programs and field research.

1.2 Methodology and scope

Project evaluation was accomplished by means of an examination of project documents and records, interviews with a broad range of personnel interested in or directly involved in the projects and field trips to four locations to make in situ observations. Interviews were arranged with officials in the recipient Canadian NGO, the SIL administration in the Philippines, SIL project management in the Philippines, the CIDA project officer in the Philippines, the head of the Bureau of Non-Formal Education in the Ministry of Education, the head of the Organization of Southern Cultural Communities (the Philippine organization responsible to implement national policy having to do with "cultural

communities"), the TAP administration, project management (both SIL and TAP personnel) at the component level, and community leaders and participants in the component projects.

Where possible direct observation of project activities was included (literacy classes, training sessions, clinic operation, etc.).

The evaluation did not include formal survey devices or techniques as these were deemed to be generally inappropriate to the scale of the component projects and the sophistication (lack thereof) of the recipient communities in responding to formal sampling and survey methodologies.

In counterpoint it is appropriate to note that fairly detailed records and statistics exist on each of the component projects and are available for examination in assessing the impact and effectiveness of the projects under evaluation.

The evaluation will address both qualitative and quantitative aspects of the projects being evaluated. In addition, the evaluation will, according to the judgment of the evaluator, include reference to and commentary on contextual factors (local and regional politics, economic factors and trends, organizational polity, regional and national policies, etc.) impinging on project implementation and future viability. It must be recognized, of course, that this latter is very much a matter of individual judgment and perception.

The remainder of this document is divided into three sections. The first section provides a background sketch of the projects being evaluated for the benefit of the reader who does not have access to project documentation. This will include some information which is not explicit in any of that documentation either.

The second section is the evaluation proper which delves into each major project component with a specific focus on strengths and weaknesses. Of particular interest is an extended discussion on the notion of self-sustainability, an idea very simple in concept but extremely difficult to apply with rigor and coherence to development projects. In a somewhat similar vein there is a review of the Philippine organization known as TAP which examines its contribution to the project as well as its potential as a national NGO for carrying out projects of the sort being presently evaluated.

The third section includes the conclusions and general recommendations of the evaluator. Specific recommendations are embedded in individual sections of the evaluation and are not repeated in the statement of conclusions. Except where noted or implied otherwise, recommendations are all addressed to the administration of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the NGO which had the direct responsibility for project implementation.

1.3 Typographic conventions

A number of typographic and format conventions have been employed to assist the reader in finding key information. These conventions are as follows:

Major sections

Each major section starts on a new page. In addition, within the evaluation, each major focus established within the Terms of Reference also begins on a new page.

Items from the Terms of Reference

Specific sub-items from the Terms of Reference have been put in parenthesis and reproduced in bold print.

Specific evaluative material

Where focused evaluative comments have been made which reflect on rather than being a part of the text, these comments have been set off by a row of asterisks (**********) both preceding and following the comments. Additionally, when more than one point is made within such bracketted material, new points are introduced with a double hyphen (--).

Recommendations

To enable the reader to find embedded recommendations quickly and easily, these have been bracketted with lines running the width of the page and printed in bold print with the word, Recommendations, printed clearly on an introductory line.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

This first section is included to provide for the reader a summary statement of the projects carried out under project sponsorship. This statement will include some information on the total context of the project as well as those entities which participated in project execution. For detailed information, one would have to consult with the entity which carried out the project or read the project documentation.

2.2 General facts

The Philippines is a Pacific island nation of approximately 60 million people. The population is quite linguistically heterogeneous with 8-10 major languages being spoken and with an additional 80+ plus minority languages also spoken by populations ranging from a few hundred to many thousands.

With quite a strong educational tradition, the overall literacy rate in the Philippines is estimated to be between 80 - 90% depending on the criteria being used to define literacy. For poltical and historical reasons, the educational system is somewhat stronger in the central and northern regions of the country and literacy rates reflect this tradition. This pattern is quite evident in the more isolated areas of Mindanao in the southern Philippines where, among some of the minority groups (called 'cultural communities' in Philippine parlance), literacy rates have, until recently, been as low as 5% or less in extreme cases.

Converging conditions of population growth, relatively high population densities, the competition for land, and a general inability of the cultural communities to defend their legal rights have conspired to push these groups into the mountains where they are further isolated from educational and economic opportunities. This pattern serves to reinforce the problem of illiteracy.

Lest one be mislead, it should be noted that in sectors of the country where education has been nearly universally available for significant periods of time,

the cultural communities have participated fully and demonstrate literacy rates comparable to the national average. Not to be ignored, of course, is the fact that the language of education in the Philippines is primarily English so that literateness does not necessarily extend to ones first language.

National educational practice is largely based on English medium schools. In recent years, pressure has been growing to make a switch to a policy more consistent with national uniqueness as well as proven pedagogical effectiveness, i.e., instruction in a language closer to the home and heart of the student. There is quite a vigorous movement to develop major regional languages-- Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, etc.-- as languages of instruction at primary levels in the formal school system. There is also some recognition that this might be pedagogically appropriate for the cultural communities as well although in terms of the needed resources, this is seen as a luxury rather than a necessity.

As an emerging nation with a very complex linguistic heritage and the burden of a colonial past, it should come as no surprise that many of the country's cultural communities have no literate tradition (in their mother language) or have only recently been introduced to the experience of having an indigenous literature.

2.3 Role of the Summer Institute of Linguistics

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), a private nongovernment organization, has-- for thirty five years-- devoted itself to developing (in the sense of provision of alphabets, grammatical analyses, dictionaries, a basic literature) the languages of the cultural communities of the Philippines. While these are significant contributions in their own right, measured in terms of impact on rates of literacy, the work of SIL has been quite modest.

Somewhat in contrast to the past pattern, the present project is notable in that SIL has converted its considerable knowledge of the minor languages of the country into programs which directly address the problem of illiteracy. While the projects which have been developed are generally modest in scale and expected scope, they are strong models with respect to community support and involvement, potential for expansion with

relatively minor continuing support, and positive community impact especially in the area of values development, improved ability to articulate with surrounding communities and reinforcement of cultural identity.

2.4 Capsule description of the project

For the purposes of the present evaluation, the project can be generally understood by quoting the general and specific objectives from the original project proposal.

1. "To establish sufficient literates, teachers, authors, and literature so that the evolution to literacy will become self-sustaining (for seven target communities with a combined total population of 200,000 people)."

2. "To train Philippinos as health care educators who in turn will train local people as primary health care practitioners."

3. "(The) specific goals are to train 6,000 new literates, 100 new teachers, 60 new writers and 2,000 reading class participants. In addition, SIL plans to print and distribute 20,000 or more pieces of literature among the target population." (Note: These specific goals were later renegotiated to 4,000 new literates, 80 new teachers, 50 new writers and 1,250 reading class participants.)

It is also appropriate to note that all project components build on significant work already done and existing institutional infrastructures. Consequently, it has generally been possible to apply funding directly to the realization of project activities versus funding research and development activities. The major exception was the use of project funding to train Philippino nationals who would in turn be training and overseeing health practitioners at the village level.

In three programs-- Blaan, Tboli and Cotabato Manobo-- earlier work had resulted in a positive climate for the initiation of larger scale literacy efforts. In the other four project components, funded activities are more in the category of pilot or start up projects.

2.5 Generic structure of literacy projects

Project evaluation gave primary attention to the larger project components as these are the more structured and coherent programs thus lending themselves to analysis and evaluation. Not surprisingly, these projects absorbed the majority of project funding and yielded the bulk of project accomplishements. Accordingly, it is appropriate to describe the underlying basic model of program structure employed in each project component.

Within the typology of literacy programs frequently cited in the professional literature (cf. for example T. Mulusa, 1988 pp. 152-ff.), the projects under evaluation fall somewhere between 'fundamental education' and 'functional literacy'. That is, the projects did not include specific economic development objectives of the sort associated with functional literacy. However, the projects did have some informal functional objectives (stronger marketing skills, access to technical information, access to values oriented literature) beyond that which is typically associated with fundamental education type programs.

Sketch of program structure

In each project component, the literacy objective was literateness in the mother tongue or vernacular. In all three projects, initial rates of literacy in the vernacular were close to zero (0%) for the target population (adults). In Cotabato Manobo, this rate applied to the whole population. In Blaan and Tboli, 10-20% of school age children have access to formal education.

Cycle 1 (Foundational activities). Before formal literacy activities could be initiated, appropriate pedagogical materials had to be prepared. Typically, these included readiness materials, a primer series, teachers' guides, supplementary reading materials, and basic numeracy materials. These were prepared by SIL and/or TAP personnel assigned to the respective projects. Publication of these materials was accomplished with project funding.

Cycle 2 (Trial classes). To test the suitability of materials and to identify potential teachers, trial classes were initiated taught by SIL or TAP linguists. Participants were drawn from among interested adults in

the local community. Literateness in another language was not a requirement although it was a frequent fact in the first round of classes.

On the basis of these trial classes adjustments were made in the teaching materials and teacher candidates were chosen for participation in Cycle 3.

Cycle 3 (Teacher training). Teacher candidates were invited to training sessions for new teachers. Training included reinforcement of personal literacy skills, instruction in basic pedagogical methods, practice teaching, instruction in record keeping, and testing and evaluation of students.

Cycle 4 (Project extension). Approved teachers were provided with instructional materials and sent out to establish new literacy classes. Such classes were initiated only upon receipt of an invitation from the host community which entailed certain commitments on the part of that community (eg. building a school, supporting the literacy classes, etc.).

Literacy classes typically consisted of approximately 130 hours of instruction. At the end of this time, testing was done on acquired skills in basic literacy-- ability to read appropriate graded materials, ability of write (simple dictation) and elementary math skills (usually writing numbers up to any number between 20 and 100). Those who passed the exam (typically between 75% and 80%) received certificates from regional NFE offices.

Cycle 5 (Fluency classes). To reinforce basic skills and to provide additional skills especially in numeracy, another advanced class was introduced. A similar strategy was followed to support these classes-- materials developed and tested, trial classes taught, teachers trained. Due to the more advanced subject matter, especially the numeracy, it was normally only viable to assign teachers who had had formal schooling usually through the sixth grade.

The number of hours of instruction in the fluency classes was somewhat more varible running from 120 to 200 hours depending on the interest and motivation of the students and the availability of materials.

Cycle 6 (Training supervisors). To provide program oversight to the expanding classes, it was necessary to train people who could visit the new classes regularly,

distribute new materials, test the students, do local problem solving with the host communities, and train new teachers for the next round of program expansion. Supervisors were chosen for this task on the basis of their mastery of the educational process as well as their acceptability as mediators in the local communities. Training was provided primarily by a mentoring relationship with another supervisor or the project coordinator.

Cycle 7 (Coordinators appointed). To begin a phase over of overall responsibility for program management to the indigenous community, one or more coordinators were appointed usually from among the supervisors. Coordinators assumed general responsibility for program management-- scheduling training sessions, making decisions on program expansion, appointing supervisors, overseeing the provision of and distribution of materials, paying teachers and supervisors, program promotion, etc.

Cycle 8 and beyond (Total independence, functional literacy, further classes). None of the projects has formally entered this cycle although there have been internal discussions about the need to do so. Some of the implications of entering this cycle will be dealt with in greater depth later.

2.6 The health practitioner program

At the time of the evaluation, the health practitioner program was largely limited to one project component-- the Cotabato Manobo. Despite its newness and rather modest beginnings, it is a significant project and will receive considerable comment later in the evaluation proper.

The Cotabato Manobo are a group of 10,000 to 15,000 people living in a mountainous region on the western coast of Mindanao. Apart from traveling down to the coast (a hike of several hours to a couple of days depending on location), the Manobos lack even the most rudimentary health care services.

The health practitioner program can be viewed as one manifestation of 'functional literacy'. The program rests on the educational foundation provided by the literacy initiative and borrows much of that program's infrastructure and methodology.

The health practitioner program has been designed and implemented primarily by Philippino health professionals (nurses) working under the auspices of the Translators Association of the Philippines.

The program has three major components: training, the establishment of health centers, and the development of a system of preventive medicine. Up to this point, most project effort has gone into training and the establishment of village health centers.

Training

Trainees are usually those who've participated in the literacy program through the fluency classes or who've received some formal schooling in the Philippine system (very few in the Manobo case). Where possible, trainees have been couples as this creates the fewest cultural problems in handling medical problems. There are also economic reasons for this model.

The training regimen is divided into three phases. Phase 1 is the Treating of Wounds. It runs for about three months and provides the trainees with about 90 hours of instruction in treating cuts, burns, bites and related wounds.

Phase 2 is devoted to Diagnosis. It runs for about six months and includes approximately 175 hours of formal instruction. The focus is on the diagnosis of illnesses with an emphasis on distinguishing between common treatable problems and those which are more serious and must be referred to professional centers for treatment.

As a part of the training in Phases 1 and 2, the trainees go through a series of eight (8) health booklets which have been written and published in the vernacular. Each booklet is addressed to one common local health problem i.e., burns, rehydration therapy, colds, TB, malaria, scabies, wounds, and handling the umbilical cord on a newborn child.

Phase 3 is a period of specialization with the time frame quite flexibly defined. Specializations include midwifery, dispensing of medicines, preventive medicine, keeping medical records, and health practitioner training.

Establishing health care centers

After a team has finished its training, it is encouraged to establish a clinic or health care center in its home community if one does not already exist. The community must take responsibility for building the clinic. With a formal request from the community leadership, the rural health section of the Ministry of Health provides some basic equipment and medicines for the clinic to begin operation.

Typically, these village clinics are open on a daily basis to serve the community. Trained health personnel take turns staffing the clinic. Medicines are sold as needed with the money being used to replace the medicines sold.

Preventive medicine

The third facet of the health practitioner program is designed to provide health instruction to the local community on the prevention of common health problems. The program includes instruction on clean drinking water, building and using latrines, a vaccination program, TB testing, and prenatal and infant care.

In all, the health practitioner program provides access to rudimentary health care for approximately 50% of the Cotabato Manobo community-- a notable achievement for a program operating on a minuscule budget and depending almost entirely on locally trained personnel.

3. EVALUATION

The evaluation is organized according to the points of the Terms of Reference (see Annex A for a copy of this document).

3.1 Program Goals and Objectives

(In general terms, including Branch (SIL Philippines) philosophy regarding the role of literacy and strategies for achieving those goals.)

SIL Philippines is an NGO whose goals include but are not limited to literacy among speakers of minority languages in that country. Further goals include linguistic research with accompanying technical publications, ethnographic descriptions, the development of a basic indigenous literature, limited scale community development projects, and translation of portions of the Sacred Scriptures into vernacular languages.

Organizational strategy to meet these goals is centered around the assignment of a team (usually two people) to carry out the work needed to achieve these goals for a given language. The time required to accomplish these objectives including those of literacy is rather daunting, typically between 15 and 30 years.

The SIL commitment to literacy needs to be understood within this larger framework of organizational goals. Literacy is just one of a cluster of program responsibilities (for the language team). Therefore, the SIL literacy philosophy, as reflected in its praxis, is (1) generally small scale and low key; (2) largely nonformal (adult oriented versus participation in the formal educational setting); (3) rather dependent upon the existence of community internal motivation; (4) very pragmatic; (5) based on good linguistic and acceptable pedagogical research; (6) generally limited to basic literacy; (7) strongly oriented to the vernacular; (8) built on strong local level relationships but weaker regional and national relationships; (9) carried out with minimal financial resources.

A somewhat different model has been followed by SIL Philippines in selected programs. Based on a fairly comprehensive sociolinguistic inventory (done for all minority language programs in the country), SIL has determined that a more extensive literacy and development program effort is appropriate to certain programs were the necessary supporting conditions exist. These include (1) low rates of existing literacy in any language and especially in the vernacular; (2) high levels of personal and community motivation to become literate; (3) the existence of the necessary research, pedagogical material, qualified technical personnel, and supporting funding to sustain a program; and (4) institutional support from SIL, regional educational agencies, and national entities backing rural development efforts.

Within the categorization of literacy philosophies set forth in the professional literature, the SIL approach tends towards that of fundamental education. In this framework, the primary focus is on the provision of basic skills (reading, writing, numeracy, etc.). In addition to a focus on skills, a strong feature of the SIL philosophy is local community identification and intregration of program activity with indigenous structures.

The philosophy of SIL Philippines regarding the relationship between literacy and development is not strongly defined with respect either to policy or practice. The most substantive developmental component has been that of health related programs. Even here, activity is dictated more by the availability of resources than a fundamental organizational commitment to development. This is not meant as a negative evaluative statement, but rather a characterization of the identity of the organization and the fact that its fundamental priorities contribute to but are not centered on development (in the broad sense of general social and economic development).

According to entity documents (see Annexes B & C for representative statements), the goal and scope of an SIL sponsored literacy program is that of investing appropriate resources so that a condition of 'self-sustainability' can be reached. This means that sufficient attention must be given to (1) motivation, (2) materials development, and (3) the training of personnel such that the community is capable of continuing literacy program activities independent of the presence of SIL personnel and resources.

Given the tremendous range of sociolinguistic contexts in which SIL programs are being carried out, there is no clear-cut procedure for determining when these conditions exist. Accordingly, the making of such judgments is a rather imprecise process with decisions being based on other than empirical grounds.

On the basis of discussion with SIL administrative personnel and first hand observations, the following evaluative comments can be made:

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-- The goals and objectives of project activities are consistent with, and in most cases, exceed entity goals for literacy activities in the normal language program.

-- From the perspective of a regional or national educator who thinks and works in terms of "the illiteracy problem", project goals are rather limited. That is, If a literacy model is in place and operating successfully, why not push for a literacy rate of 50% or 70% rather than 10-15%. This, of course, reflects variant entity priorities and responsibilities.

-- Project goals and objectives do/did not extend far into the area of development (functional literacy in the parlance of many). While this position is consistent with current entity policy and past practice, discussions with entity personnel seem to indicate that there is a willingness on the part of entity officials to review thinking in this area. It was pointed out that entity expertise is minimal in the field of development so that specific project definitions which might include substantial development components would require institutional partners who did have such expertise.

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(the specific goals and objectives of each of the literacy and health projects included in the CIDA funded program.)

The evaluation of literacy and health projects embraced seven separate projects (defined according to cultural identity). Project documentation for the three

largest of these (which account for 80-90% of project activity and costing) was examined. Pre-implementation project plans reflect a suitable planning model and reasonable goals. A comparison of specific objectives with program accomplishments shows a general tendency to underestimate what would be accomplished with the time and resources available. Project results generally exceeded original objectives by about 25%.

A summary statement of project goals is set forth in Table 1.

Teachers trained	80
New literates	4,000
New writers	60
Advanced literacy (fluency classes)	1,750
Literature	20,000
Health practitioners trained	8
Health seminar participants	150

Table 1. Summary of specific project objectives

With respect to the meeting of specific goals and objectives, we can say the following:

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-- The statements of specific objectives reflect, obviously, the overall entity approach to project activities. The fact that these goals were generally exceeded, in some cases by large amounts, probably reflects, more than anything else, a general lack of experience in designing large projects (by SIL standards). At worst it is a felicitous error and one from which appropriate lessons have been learned.

-- In overall terms, the statement of project objectives seemed somewhat 'arbitrary'. That is, planning documents are somewhat sketchy at points failing to reflect the overall integrity of the projects as they've developed. Conscientious and conservative management

has somewhat ameliorated this shortcoming. This, however, doesn't eliminate the need to give better attention to project planning prior to project implementation.

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3.2 Structure of Program

3.2.1 Program Design

In its program planning and management, the SIL Philippines makes use of a fairly highly structured planning and management process. Each year there are intensive planning and review sessions in which the technical staff meet with each project team to review past progress and to make future plans. This planning process is based on obligatory and previously prepared sociocultural background studies and a statement of long term goals and objectives. Out of such sessions come action plans-- long term as well as short term-- which guide the project team in carrying out project activities.

The project activities being reviewed in this evaluation developed out of this planning framework. The evident viability of the model followed reflects well on this process of careful situational analysis and good forward planning.

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-- Two areas stand out which should have been better addressed in the program design process. First, the design process gave little attention to the issue of what should or could follow the literacy program in order to build on what had been accomplished.

-- Secondly, the design process did not include specific provisions for "phase over" to some internal mechanism for providing the financial resources needed to continue program activities. This is not to say that the matter was ignored altogether. Rather, there was a general assumption-- neither fully articulated nor evaluated-- that the program would somehow become self-sustaining on the basis of internal momentum.

Recommendation:

In the event that these projects continue or similar ones are developed in other settings, it is recommended that attention be given to

developing specific steps or mechanisms aimed at a structured phase over to indigenous control.

3.2.2 Project implementation

Project implementation has depended primarily on the individual language teams. This has meant that each project component has proceeded essentially independently of the others. It has also meant that there has been less cross-fertilization and sharing of successful ideas than might have been possible under a more corporate model of implementation.

The strength of the pattern followed is that it allows each project component to develop in keeping with local circumstances and the availability of linguists to assist in project development.

The corresponding weakness lies in the fact that there was minimal opportunity to cooperate in activities which can be done in concert such as writers workshops, supervisor training, general program consultation, etc.

The participation of local community leadership in project implementation is a strong feature of the literacy projects. This participation has virtually guaranteed that the projects would receive full community support.

In counterpoint to this strength is a weakness of project "integration" with respect to appropriate regional and national institutions in particular those working in nonformal education. Unfortunately, the solution to this problem is not simple or straightforward. It is recognized that the effort to achieve such integration, even if limited to making regular reports, requires a commitment of time, energy, and financial resources. It is also recognized that in some cases, the responsible regional institutions may have little interest or expertise in working with linguistic minorities. Nonetheless, in taking a long term view, it is necessary that such linkages be established whenever possible.

3.2.3 Project staffing and management

Project staffing and management followed SIL's customary pattern. This pattern has two tiers. At the field level are the teams assigned to specific language projects. These teams are normally made up of two people, but in cases where there are cooperative projects with TAP, such teams may consist of up to 6 persons. All team members have good basic training in field linguistics, basic literacy, and/or some other specialty appropriate to their task e.g., medical, agricultural, vocational, etc.

At the second tier are entity administrators and technical consultants who consult on program structure and direction and monitor program progress. In the case of projects being supported by grants, a third tier of structure must be provided, i.e., project management, accounting and reporting.

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-- In the case of the project presently being evaluated, the first two tiers of staffing and management appear to be very suitably competent. As noted elsewhere, the SIL teams are especially strong in the areas of commitment, knowledge of the local languages and peoples, and identification with the people and the task to be carried out. Areas which could be stronger include management skills and local level network building.

-- The strengths and weaknesses of the second tier-- administration and technical consultation-- parallel those of the first tier. The SIL Philippines has a good framework for developing and managing programs in accordance with organizational goals (which are strongly concentrated on community level activity). The entity is less experienced at managing larger development projects and working at the macro level. Not surprisingly, project strengths and weaknesses parallel the strengths and weaknesses inherent in the goals and purposes of the entity.

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The needed adjustments are more a matter of conceptualization than any substantial change in organizational polity or practice. Larger scale literacy and development projects need to be

conceptualized as a different genre of project (to that of the traditional SIL program).

Recommendation:

Specifically, such projects should (1) be conceptualized at a higher or macro level; and (2) when carried out by SIL, such projects should have a management structure which reflects it's status as a 'special' project versus a standard SIL project. Some detailing of the implicatons of these suggestions might be helpful.

Macro-level conceptualization

Deeply embedded in the fabric of SIL tradition and field practice is the notion of a language community as an isolated and self-contained island. In the early days of its work, but more rarely today, this notion was not far from reality. The occasional interaction local peoples had with other groups or the outside world had little impact on the local community.

SIL recruited and trained people to work in this kind of context and developed field practices and policies designed to support this conceptualization. Even though today's world is substantially different from that of forty years ago, the mentality of the organization still somewhat reflects the earlier tradition. In some parts of the world and in more recent years, a process of reconceptualization has begun, but is not yet complete.

A macro level conceptualization has a number of practical implications for SIL in general and to the carrying out of a project such as the present one in particular. First, such a project must be viewed through the lens of national and regional goals, plans and expectations. Specific implications include (a) more interaction with regional and national agencies otherwise having jurisdiction and technical responsibility for such project activities; (b) review of project plans and goals at these levels before formal submission for funding; (c) where possible the inclusion of funding provisions to incorporate regional and

national personnel and agencies in some project activities; (d) increased attention to network building at the regional level; (e) the inclusion of funding provisions to cover the costs of such network building.

Secondly, macro level conceptualization entails giving attention to the "larger picture" in terms of local community needs, aspirations, problems, development options, etc. Specific implications include (a) the possible inclusion of specialized help in project design; (b) networking with local and regional agencies capable of helping; (c) the inclusion of funding provisions to cover the costs of these additional elements; (d) possible further training for SIL field personnel and/or orientation as to the implications of such a model and how to cope with it; (e) maanagement and consultant personnel also need to have stronger backgrounds in such areas as political science, developmental economics, sociology, management theory, cost accounting, etc.

A major reason for taking this broader view is to "build for the future". An insular view tends to lead one to conclude that contact and change can be limited or controlled. Neither of these is true. A language community is a dynamic entity. The broader context in which that community is located is also dynamic. Therefore, project planning and implementation must be viewed as a small piece of a much larger puzzle-- not as a self-contained activity.

Appropriate management structure

SIL management is structured and oriented to support the normal SIL program. In that each of these programs is largely "self-contained", the management structure is minimal and quite nondirective in carrying out its responsibilities.

The recommendations being set forth in this evaluation is that a macro level program having implications extending beyond discrete local communities and having assessment and reporting responsibilities at various levels needs to have a dedicated (full time) management structure. This management structure would have program oversight as its only responsibility. To a very pragmatic organization like SIL, this may seem expensive in terms of personnel costs, but in terms of program success at a macro level, this is essential.

Practically speaking, the cost should not be as great as it might at first seem. Given the other supporting resources available, a relatively modest project such as this one should not require more than two full time people to provide the needed dedicated management. Other supporting technical assistance could be brought in on an as-needed basis. With mechanisms already available to assist with financial accounting and statistical reporting, a small dedicated management structure should be adequate.

A primary responsibility of this dedicated management structure should be that of handling the consequences of viewing such a project at the macro level. In particular, this would include network building at regional and national levels.

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-- Project staffing and management was adequate in terms of project implementation at the local community level and within a traditional SIL conceptualization of program goals. This is reflected in strong project achievement at the local level.

-- Project management could have been stronger in terms of overall project coherence, the implications of project implementation at the macro level, the quality of internal project assessment, and external project reporting. These weaknesses did not compromise project achievement in terms of original project goals, but did weaken somewhat the external perception of the project as well as the extent to which regional, national, and international agencies are/were able to learn from or relate to project activities.

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Recommendation:

Any such future projects carried out by SIL Philippines should have a dedicated management structure. Furthermore, it is recommended that anyone assigned to this role (a) make a commitment to stay with the project until it is finished; (b) get at least some personal exposure to similar projects carried out in other countries or

contexts; (c) consult regularly with professional development personnel in the Philippines such as CIDA personnel; (d) be involved in initial project design; and (e) participate regularly in visits to regional and national offices to report on project progress. Any project funding proposal should include financial provisions for (e).

3.2.4 Training

Project training activities consisted of (a) training of teachers for basic literacy instruction; (b) training of supervisors for the same level of activity; (c) training of teachers for the fluency classes; and (d) for the health practitioner program, the training of the health workers.

In each project, the training program for basic level instructors or workers made use of a transitional model. That is, the first teachers and workers were trained by SIL or TAP workers. Then the most competent of these, after gaining experience, became the trainers for subsequent corps of teachers, etc. Even though this meant that indigenous trainers were frequently not very highly trained themselves, the model proved to be workable. It is believed that degradation of quality has been avoided by virtue of the fact that SIL and TAP personnel have maintained a regular presence to see to quality control.

For the more advanced fluency classes the same pattern has been followed with the exception that, in some cases, there has not been enough local expertise to assume training responsibility in this area. Nonetheless, the training component is designed to function in this manner.

After some experimentation a training regimen was developed which first included about three weeks of instruction, then a period of actual work as a teacher, and finally another week of instruction based on the problems and experiences of the period of actual teaching. This proved to be an effective approach to training.

Training consisted largely of review of technical skills, introduction to the curriculum and materials to be taught, and some practice teaching. The training was

largely procedure oriented with only a little attention to formal pedagogical principles and methodology. Where the teachers-to-be had had little previous formal schooling, the project included detailed teachers' guides which enabled the teachers to overcome the limitations of minimal training.

In the case of the health program, training was longer, more structured and heavily dependent upon the modeling of the medical instructors. Because of the vastly greater technology involved, similar levels of independence could not be achieved in this program. (Note: Not being a medical professional, the evaluator can only address this program in very general terms as a community development initiative.)

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-- In spite of the rather minimal training received, the teachers are doing an effective job. One principle clearly demonstrated is that when there is high motivation, effective literacy instruction can be provided on a very cost effective basis with only minimally trained instructors.

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3.2.5 Supervision

In each project component initial supervision was provided by the SIL or TAP team involved in the program. As the program grew, and local personnel developed expertise, supervisory activities were gradually turned over to locals.

In terms of basic general supervision, this was a workable system. However, none of the projects had a highly developed notion of the role of the supervisor. Accordingly, there was significant variance in the quantity and quality of the supervision provided by this system. Furthermore, since the projects had a greater emphasis on practical results than on comparative evaluation, assessment, or data gathering for analytical purposes, supervision tended to be restricted to logistical support, community problem solving, and evaluation of the students at the end of the course of instruction.

Recommendation:

The role of the supervisor as well as supervisory activities need to be somewhat more structured and disciplined. Rather than leaving this a somewhat loose and informal part of the program, supervision should be more highly organized with regular visits to classes, regular reporting on project activity, more extensive record keeping, and regular debriefing by program coordinators. The supervisors probably constitute the primary source of potential leadership for similar future activity. Attention to development of the supervisory role and supervisory skills is apt to also be effective leadership development.

3.2.6 Materials production and distribution

Primary project materials were developed by SIL and TAP personnel who also assumed responsibility for their reproduction and delivery to the local communities. Adequate supplies of all primary materials seemed to be available to meet project needs.

In that SIL has extensive experience in developing such materials and does considerable testing to verify their usability, the primary materials developed for this project proved very suitable.

The local distribution of materials is a part of the responsibility of project supervisors and seems to be well under control. Culturally appropriate arrangements have been worked out in terms of purchasing these materials or otherwise making them available to students in a responsible manner.

The quality and availability of secondary materials-- numeracy, general reading, how-to books, functional literacy materials, etc.-- was much more variable and irregular. Feedback from local leaders and project supervisory personnel (local citizens) indicated a strong interest in and need for more such material.

The first stated objective in the original project proposal was,

1. "To establish sufficient literates, teachers, authors, and literature so that the evolution to literacy will become self-sustaining."

Despite the accumulated experience of many different organizations around the world and various in-depth studies, no reliable models exist which allow us to quantify these objectives with any degree of confidence. Neither is there a well understood or commonly shared notion of what is meant by the concept 'self-sustaining'. How then can a judgment be made as to whether project goals for authors and literature have been met? The following observations are included in the hope that some insight-- but not a definitive answer-- can be provided into this matter.

The following discussion rests on three assumptions which may be variably defensible in differing sociolinguistic milieus. First, literateness, as a personal and community resource, is becoming an increasingly necessary skill in the face of intensifying world-wide technification. Secondly, literacy skills can be maintained or strengthened only by regular use. Thirdly, the use of literacy skills is directly related to the availability of appropriate literature of sufficient import to the reader that he is motivated to read fairly regularly.

We need not comment much on the first assumption other than to observe that, even in today's world, there still exist communities where literacy is largely or totally unknown and unnecessary to the activities of daily life. It is not so clear that this will forever be the case, however. In addition, there are large numbers of communities where literacy is still very new and its status still uncertain in terms of its fundamental relevance to the majority of the citizenry. In most such cases, there is at least some local concern that literacy is about to become a necessity even though its immediate applicability may be somewhat insubstantial.

There is considerable documentation that a failure to use literacy skills will result in their being lost. This applies even to those who've had five or six years of formal schooling. Fortunately, the amount of reading which must be done to maintain ones skills does not seem to be very great. Empirical research has shown that literacy skills can be maintained (but not necessarily

strengthened) by reading as little as a paragraph a month.

Even though it appears to take relatively little to maintain literacy skills, in many situations, there may not be motivation, need, or enough new and interesting material to meet even this minimal need.

In the case of the project presently being evaluated, levels of motivation are quite high for both religious and economic reasons. Christians are motivated to read the Scriptures and related material. Some probing during the evaluation provided evidence that reading activity in this sector is quite vigorous and new literacy skills are growing stronger.

The economic motivation is broader but more diffuse. Much of it has to do with marketing and the use of instructions which accompany new tools, seeds, fertilizers, etc. There is also some linkage between literacy and getting better paying jobs.

The evidence is very unclear as to whether this motivation stimulates enough practice to maintain ones skills. It would take further time and research to answer this question.

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-- The projects need to be strengthened in terms of providing for skill maintenance by addressing the need for a long term flow of material of sufficient general interest to maintain literacy skills among those who lack the aforementioned motivation. The solution, however, must address a number of complex issues.

First, it is not clear to anyone what materials would be of sufficient general interest that these should be developed and published. Secondly, it is quite evident that, at this point, there is not yet sufficient local expertise to write, edit, and reproduce materials to meet the needs of the local readership. Thirdly, there is little tradition of buying such materials since they are rarely cost effective in terms of a cost-benefit ratio. Fourthly, traditional learning styles still tend strongly to modeling rather than 'learning from a book'.

While there is a broad general awareness among project personnel that these difficulties exist, little

effort has gone into trying to develop solutions. The native writers programs seek to address this issue, but may not be the best strategy for dealing with the problem (more on this in the next section).

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One very attainable solution to the problem of providing a regular flow of literature is that of a monthly or biweekly newsletter or newspaper. The expense is not great, the needed technology is not very high, distribution can be incorporated into the existing program, and a broad range of issues can be addressed and included. This has proven to be highly successful in other programs.

Recommendation:

Further work needs to be done to develop strategies for meeting the long term need for a general purpose literature. Such an effort must include determining what literature is needed, and in what language or languages, and the training of a corps of specialists to do such work-- whether by original writing or translation from other languages.

Recommendation:

Since there was an oft-expressed need for development related materials, attention should be given to determining what is needed and how best to provide it. This should be done in conjunction with other agencies more involved in general economic development.

Recommendation:

To help meet the need for literature as well as to provide information of general information, it is recommended that serious attention be given to establishing a regular newsletter in each of the major projects.

3.2.7 Native writers programs

Native writers programs are aimed at getting local people involved in generating an indigenous literature. Related goals have included developing general community interest in literacy, increasing local appreciation for ones language, putting oral traditions which may be dying out into written form, developing general writing skills, etc. In most cases where such programs have been developed, the later rather than the former goals have been served. Primary among the reasons for this pattern, is the fact that such programs were initially attempted in settings not yet ready to support an "indigenous publishing industry" even in modest form. The preconditions for successful general purpose literature production are not trivial. They include a substantial population, relatively significant amounts of discretionary disposable cash, quite sophisticated writers, people with knowledge that others desire, accessible printing technology, etc.

The preconditions generally do not exist in any of the settings where project components were developed. Accordingly, the native writers programs carried out served more effectively to generate an interest in literacy and to increase local appreciation for the relative value and viability of local versus regional or official languages. The actual literature produced made only a minimal contribution to the needed inventory of indigenous literature.

Properly understood, such programs serve a useful purpose. It is a mistake, however, to assume that such programs can meet a general need for long term literature production when the necessary preconditions do not exist.

3.3 PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

3.3.1 General overview of program effectiveness

The literacy program model has already been described in an earlier section. It should be noted, if this is not already clear, that this program model was applied at the micro level, i.e. at the level of the language community. Since seven language communities were included in the overall project, there were, in principle, seven applications of the same program model in the project. For various reasons-- insecurity, absence of key personnel-- two of the seven did not really develop and a third made only modest progress.

The model followed for the literacy projects has been proven to be very effective where conditions permitted reasonably complete implementation. Strengths of the model include (1) long term presence of technical personnel and their intimate knowledge of the languages, peoples and cultures of the respective communities; (2) vigorous integration of project activities into indigenous infrastructures; (3) linguistically and pedagogically sound materials; (4) the emergence of indigenous leadership; (5) a relatively high degree of monitoring by the linguists of all phases of project implementation; (6) presence of curriculum content appropriate to the needs and desires of local participants; (7) a staged structure which permitted participants to advance to a level which suited their needs and interests.

Areas where the project model could be stronger include (1) the need for more on site inspection and participation by consultant level specialists; (2) stronger planning for phase over to a genuinely self-supporting mode of operation; (3) stronger effort to develop effective links to pertinent regional and national agencies having similar interests (Note: In fairness to project planners, it must be pointed out that, in some cases, such agencies do not have a local presence or lack the resources to make an effective contribution to this kind of a program); (4) stronger planning for transfer of educational skills to practical skills of benefit to the entire community.

3.3.2 Statistical reporting system and procedures

Project record keeping existed at two levels. On the management level, monthly reports were received detailing, in statistical as well as prose form, project activities for the preceding month. Project data collected in this form are reasonably complete although not as sophisticated as is common in more tightly structured programs. The data collected at this level were largely clerical in nature reporting number of new literates, number of teachers trained, number of books distributed, supervisor activity, etc.

Project data were also kept at the community or project level. In general, record keeping at this level was less rigorous and less consistent. Teachers generally kept records of student attendance and progress. Supervisors kept records of books distributed, visits made to classes, problems encountered, etc. Project coordinators made some use of this information for identifying any outstanding problems which needed to be solved. Records were also kept of payments made to teachers and other project expenses.

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-- In general, it can be said that the statistical data gathering and record keeping served primarily reporting purposes. Little use was made of data for analytical or evaluative purposes. The lack of rigor in data collection reflects the strongly pragmatic orientation of those carrying out project activities. When project activities are structured to test hypotheses-- whether theoretical or applied-- more attention is given to the integrity and rigor of data as such is the basis for evaluating hypotheses.

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Recommendation:

For the sake of developing its own expertise in the field of literacy and fundamental education, SIL consultants and project management personnel need to develop a better understanding of the nature and purpose of statistical data. It

is recommended that, in future similar projects, one or more testable hypotheses be developed as an integral part of the project proposal and that such hypotheses be operationalized in such a way that they are understood by all directly involved in project implementation. Further, that in relation to these hypotheses, careful and rigorous data gathering be implemented as a basis for testing stated hypotheses.

Recommendation:

It is further recommended that, where necessary, appropriate recourse be made to trained consultants who can provide assistance in this area.

3.3.3 Results obtained by project

Project accomplishments in objective terms are set forth in Table 2. Project documents were not precise or up to date at some points so that the table is a composite of information most notably under 'Pieces of literature published' and data on the health practitioner program.

	Blaan	Ibatan	Ata Manobo	Cotabato Manobo	Ilianen Manobo	W. Bukid. Manobo	Tboli	Totals
LITERACY								
- New literates	1,245		126	423	10	519	2716	5,039
- Teachers trained	111		11	45	10	30	114	321
- Supervisors trained	3		1	4	1	2	9	19
- Writers trained	9			15			12	36
- Fluency classes	142		9	69		54	466	740
- New titles	6	2	3	8	2	2	15	38
- Pcs. of lit. published	6,500	2,500	1,500	2,500	460	1,500	22,450	37,410
HEALTH								
- Health wrkrs. trained		2	11	27				41
- Attended health sems.				80				80

Table 2. Summary data on results of literacy and health projects.

A few notes are in order on the data reflected in Table 4. First, the two largest projects, Blaan and Tboli, did not initiate program activities under the present grant, but rather built on activities and structures which were already in place from previous work and projects. The other projects more nearly reflect accomplishments stemming from the present grant.

Secondly, the data on literature published reflect publication numbers, not distribution numbers. Data on distribution were not available.

Thirdly, the relative impact of these programs cannot be directly read from the Table. For example, the Cotabato Manobo group is quite small compared to the Blaan and Tboli groups. Furthermore, initial literacy rates were nearly zero among the Manobo. Therefore, the relative impact is high even though, in absolute

numbers, the results in the Manobo program were less than those in other programs.

Fourthly and very significantly, the four programs which show the greatest progress have had more than one SIL and/or TAP team assigned to them. The impact of this additional manpower is evident in project achievement.

Fifthly, and not reflected in the Table, is the fact that the health practitioner program which has had its primary development among the Cotabato Manobo, now provides elementary health care for nearly fifty percent of the total population. This is an impressive result given the very modest financial resources supporting the program.

3.3.4 Cost effectiveness

In order to provide a measure of the relative cost effectiveness of this literacy program compared to others which have taken place, some rough estimates of per student costs are provided in Table 3.

	Gross Input (Canadian Dollars)		Cost per Literate (5039)	
Direct Project Cost				
Publications	64,000		12.70	
Training activities	10,000		1.98	
Equipment and supplies	12,500		2.48	
Operational expenses	8,000		1.59	
Subsidies for lay teachers	39,000		7.74	
		133,500		26.49
TAP subsidy		23,000		4.56
SIL in kind support		206,000		40.88
TOTAL cost		362,500		71.94

Table 5. Estimated costs per student for the Philippine literacy projects.

Included in these figures are all costs related to the health practitioner program since project documents

did not clearly distinguish these from literacy program costs. Also included are the costs associated with the fluency classes which represent relatively extensive additional educational reinforcement for approximately 15% of total new literates. If these unknown costs were broken out, it is estimated the cost per literate would be reduced by approximately 20%.

Even if we ignore these details, the estimated cost per literate compares favorably with estimates from other programs such as the Experimental World Literacy Project. According to published studies, campaigns developed under the auspices of the EWLP averaged between 200 and 300 US dollars per literate (Gillette, 1988). It must be noted, of course, that these estimates included all foundational research and development costs which, in the case of the present project, were borne by SIL and TAP and are not included in project accounting.

In terms of direct cost (actual cost to the grant), the cost per literate is a very modest $30.05 Canadian or about $24 dollars US. By just about any measure, this would be deemed a positive cost-benefit ratio.

3.3.5 Difficulties encountered

In the literacy components

Two major obstacles hampered project implementation. The first difficulty is that of insecurity due to the various forms of unrest found at times in the rural areas. The practical consequences of insecurity have been (a) lack of access to some language areas which effectively blocked projected program activities and (b) some disruption to programs which were implemented. In addition to these factors, the insecurity has increased the risk to teachers and supervisors who occasionally must travel through dangerous areas to fulfill their responsibilities.

There doesn't seem to be any practical solution to this problem as far as this level of project is concerned. Political problems require political solutions and these are outside the scope of the projects being evaluated. The only real alternative is to simply refocus resources on alternative communities having similar needs where this problem doesn't exist. This, of course, does not guarantee that a program will not be interrupted in midstream.

The second major obstacle was absence of key project personnel-- SIL or TAP teams-- for reasons including sickness, furlough, or conflicting responsibilities to their respective organizations. Even a cursory review of project achievements indicate that when technical personnel are not present, programs are seriously delayed or limited.

There would seem to be several possible solutions to this second problem. (1) Projects should only be initiated where there is a high likelihood of continuity of needed technical personnel to support the project. (2) More personnel can be or need to be assigned to larger or major projects in order to provide the personnel resources and project continuity needed to fulfill project commitments. (3) In keeping with the implicit obligations of the grant, organizational commitments can be made not to remove key personnel before the project is over.

In addition to these obstacles, other obstacles of a more 'structural' nature were encountered in project implementation. First, in most cases, difficult topography makes travel and communication difficult so that coordination and management of project activities is frequently affected. Secondly, land pressures and marginal economic conditions often proved distracting. When one has to make a choice between teaching and feeding his family, there is little choice. In every project component visited, difficult economic conditions and scarce resources provide only small margins of error in terms of time commitments from adult personnel. Thirdly, regional institutional structures having similar portfolios seem only marginally interested in providing assistance. This seeming lack of interest may be variously attributed to lack of resources, distance from a given project, lack of adequate information about project activities, etc.

Other difficulties which typically beset literacy projects were not present in this case, e.g. lack of motivation, inadequate materials, difficult linguistic problems, lack of cooperation, political opposition, etc. Apart from the somewhat localized problem of political insecurity, this project was relatively free from serious difficulties.

In the health practitioner component

The primary problem encountered in the health program was that of paying for medicines. In a setting where there is little cash flow except when cash crops are harvested-- usually once a year-- people rarely have money to pay for medicine when they need it. In recognition of this problem, the program has generally followed a practice of buying on credit. This creates record keeping problems, collection problems, and a shortage of cash to replace medicines as needed.

The most immediate solution would be to have a large enough cash reserve that a year's supply of medicines can be acquired to meet the need until people are able to pay their bills.

A second problem is a general lack of basic equipment to set up or to maintain local clinics. The national health agency has not been able to provide an adequate level of assistance. The only real barrier is a lack of funding to provide such equipment.

A third problem is the fact that health workers work without pay. A lot is expected of these people with no provision for compensating them for services rendered. Ultimately, this problem will have to be solved as a system based entirely on voluntary service may not last long.

3.3.6 Lessons learned

A number of items stand out as lessons learned. Many of these will have already surfaced elsewhere in the evaluation. For the sake of ease of reference, the major lessons learned will be repeated here even though they may appear elsewhere as well.

Teachers. The project has demonstrated once again the efficacy of using minimally trained teachers when both they and their students are highly motivated, they teach in their own language, they have well-structured materials, and they receive regular supervision.

Teachers guides. Teachers guides need to provide detailed guidance inversely proportional to the skill and training of the teachers but proportionate to the complexity of the instructional model being used.

Two stage model. The two stage model has proved to be well suited to a subsistence setting where existing levels of education are low.

Importance of numeracy. In a subsistence setting where there is substantial opportunity for economic interaction with more sophisticated outsiders, numeracy is an essential ingredient of any basic education program. Even the amount of numeracy included in these programs was not enough to meet the demand and expressed need.

Financial viability. High levels of motivation can compensate to a certain extent for weak financial support in programs of basic literacy. However, in a subsistence setting (and perhaps in others as well), motivation alone cannot be counted on to supply the needed momentum and support for a sustained literacy program designed to achieve a significant percentage of literacy.

Continuity of technical presence. There was a high correlation between strong technical support and strong program achievement. Technical support is even stronger when there is a sustained local presence, technical personnel speak the local language, and there is a cooperative working relationship between technical personnel and local community leadership.

High levels of motivation. Even though it seems quite obvious, high levels of learner motivation are crucial to program success. Many literacy programs suffer and fail because there is little motivation to learn to read on the part of the general population.

Literacy and respect. Community feedback consistently expressed a vigorous relationship between literacy and "respectability". This worked in two directions. Outsiders were much quicker to show respect and acceptance when local people demonstrated they were literate. On the other hand, literacy is a very effective promoter of self-respect and pride for both individuals and communities.

3.3.7 Ongoing use of literacy skills

Detailed statistical data are not available to reflect the extent to which newly acquired literacy skills are being used. Verbal enquiries, visual observation, and subjective feedback from project

personnel all seemed to confirm fairly extensive ongoing usage. Usage seemed to be the strongest among those whose motivation was primarily religious. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many of those having a religious motivation have made extensive use of their new skills significantly improving them in the process.

The second most effective motivation is economic. Numeracy rather than literacy skills per se seemed to be much sought after with strong evidence that these skills are, in fact, being put to good use.

There was also considerable evidence indicating that significant numbers of unschooled teenagers who had participated in the literacy classes were using their skills to get better jobs (when they live close to an open labor market) or even to gain entrance into the regular school system if there was an opportunity to do so.

Not surprisingly, weakest utilization of skills seems to be among the over 40 group who participated in the program. Not only did many of these not develop strong skills, but had greater than average difficulty in applying these skills to specific tasks. Whether for reasons of failing eyesight, personal embarrassment, disinterest, slowness of learning, this group showed the least progress during and after the program.

Project personnel estimate that between 25 and 35 percent of new literates are not using their skills and thus are in danger of lapsing back into illiteracy.

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-- Generally motivation exists to continue to use and develop newly won skills. However, there are long range implications of this interest which have not been confronted; for example, the need for further materials, a greater interest in and growing need for formal schooling, possible loss of young people to population centers where better jobs can be obtained.

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Recommendation:

Some collective thinking needs to be done to plan for future directions at the community level. Community leaders are keenly aware of the problems they face. They don't always have the experience and broad perspective needed to discern the implications of changing patterns of literacy and education. Some pragmatic brainstorming and situational analysis involving a mix of local leadership, regional agency representatives, and other interested parties could be effective in charting future programs.

Recommendation:

Attention definitely needs to be given to the development of additional literature to support ongoing local literacy.

3.3.8 Impact on other development needs and objectives

The original project design did not set forth specific objectives as to how the literacy component should contribute to the solution of other development needs. Not surprisingly then, the relationship is not overt in project results. Several factors further complicate insightful evaluative comment on this point. First, by normal development standards, this was a short term project (four years). Not enough time has elapsed to glimpse definite impact or development trends.

Secondly, the bulk of project resources were concentrated on literacy versus other development activities, so that progress is very visible in the area of literacy but not so much so in other fields.

Thirdly, literacy is a much more discrete process with progress toward goals being easily measurable. Such is not always the case with many other development programs.

Fourthly, development, especially in the areas of economic and agricultural development, is an extremely complex process and overly sensitive to subtle factors over which the development agent may have little control such as traditional attitudes and patterns of behavior, quality and quantity of available resources such as land, water, forests, etc., distance from markets, degree of cooperation (or lack thereof) of surrounding communities and regional agencies, etc.

Community leaders as well as other observers have noted and did comment on developmental changes linked to the literacy program. Most of these changes are behavioral and attitudinal rather than economic, however. Developmental activities having economic consequences will likely be more subtle and less obvious without more sophisticated analytical tools.

The developmental influence most consistently reported was a heightened sense of personal and community confidence in developing relationships and pursuing objectives requiring interactions with external agencies and communities. Receiving greater respect is important to local people who are otherwise located close to the bottom of the social/educational ladder.

Having a literate leadership has made local communities more effective in the local political process. Literates seem to get a more respectful hearing and are more capable of discerning and defending legal rights.

A second developmental influence noted is a significantly changing pattern of community cooperation. Prior to the implementation of the literacy and health programs, the settlement pattern was one of isolated family units with marked levels of hostility, violence, and killing between these units. The literacy and health programs have played a major role in introducing new pattern of trust, cooperation, and interdependence which is reshaping past behavioral tendencies. For example, although definitive statistics are not available, community leaders estimated that, in the last 5 to 10 years, homicide rates among the Blaan have dropped by up to 95%. The newly emerging pattern of community cooperation and interdependence is positioning each language group to tackle common problems in an effective fashion rather than being mere victims of external pressures and decisions.

A third developmental impact is that of better organized efforts to establish formal schools. The literacy program has kindled a stronger interest in education. On the basis of demonstrable independent achievement, external educational agencies are giving more serious attention to the needs of the cultural communities. Within the last two years, a special agency has been established (Office of Southern Cultural Communities) under the Office of the Presidency for the purpose of assisting cultural communities in this and related areas.

A fourth impact is the emergence of indigenous organizations having full legal status in the Philippine system. As minorities have become literate, they have developed a better understanding of the functioning of the Philippine system including the role that formal organizations play. To defend themselves in the face of external challenges, local communities must have such entities to represent them and their interests. A basic level of education is fundamental in putting such organizations to work and the literacy program has provided these.

Other developmental impacts seem to be emerging but it is too early to report marked changes. The need for land was uniformly cited as the most pressing economic problem. Newly acquired literacy skills are but one step in solving this problem as it involves major legal, economic, and political intricacies.

All groups are beginning to experiment with cash crops. Numeracy and literacy skills are important to successful crop management and marketing. There is some evidence, primarily anecdotal, that local communities are moving to considerably strengthen their economic position by better crop management methods and by cooperative marketing. Apart from the participation of an outside expert, these activities are quite dependent upon some basic education.

As already reported, the Cotabato Manobo health program now reaches about 50% of that group's population. Project coordinators report significant impact in reduced morbidity rates for children, healthier babies, reduced incidences of measles, fewer serious infections, and fewer skin diseases. (Note: The health practitioner program has been primarily implemented in only one language group of the seven involved in the literacy component. Other, but not all,

of the groups have some access to regional health care facilities.)

3.3.9 Impact upon women

As in the case of development, the impact of the program on women is not easy to measure. Again, we will have to rely on tendencies noted during the field part of the evaluation.

Family security. One of the consequences of the previous pattern of violence and revenge killings was the creation of a sizeable pool of widows and fatherless children. In a subsistence culture, this results in severe duress for such women and their children. The changing pattern has markedly improved long term family security for wives and their children.

Educational levels. Across the seven project components, participation in the basic literacy classes is roughly equally divided between males (55%) and females (45%). A reduced percentage of women take the more advanced classes. Thirty to forty percent of the teachers are women. As teachers enjoy a somewhat elevated status in the local community, female teachers benefit generally from their participation in the program.

Family size. All groups participating in the literacy project have a common concern about family size and shrinking land resources to support ones family. There is some informal evidence that a rather novel, though only partial solution to this problem is surfacing in the literacy programs. Some young women who've become literacy teachers are using this role as a pretext for delaying marriage, in some cases for as many as five to seven years. This delay can reduce by up to 25% the number of pregnancies a woman will have. It should be noted that this tendency is not yet widespread or institutionalized in local communities.

Family health. The health practitioner program has had a notable impact on women as they are the ones who bear the brunt of physical and emotional stress for multiple pregnancies and the demands of sick children. With better health care, especially during pregnancy, women are stronger and healthier.

Besides the assistance provided through the health program, women who've become literate have better access

to health manuals and books which are an additional source of information on health care.

The data do not exist to quantify the impact upon women made by the project. While there are some demonstrable positive impacts, it has to be kept in mind that project scale is still small having touched only 15-20% of the total target population.

One negative situation encountered among the Cotabato Manobo deserves mention although it is not a direct consequence of the present project. The primary cash crop of the Manobo is coffee. Because they have no other technology for hulling the coffee beans, women are asked to do this by hand using a large mortar and pestle. This is slow and backbreaking work consuming a large part of two months of time during the coffee season. Since simple and inexpensive technology exists to do this work, women ought to be freed from such onerous labor. Recommendations to this end were made to project personnel.

3.3.10 Concluding remarks on program effectiveness

In each of the four projects where adequate technical personnel were available to provide continuous support, and with the financial support of the grant, the program was observed to be expanding steadily. With so much research and development work done, with good working infrastructures in place, and with strong indices of community support and motivation, any plan to discontinue these programs now needs to be questioned carefully.

Recommendation:

With such high potential for continued achievement, it is STRONGLY recommended that SIL Philippines and TAP review, with appropriate, Philippine entities, possible options for follow-up programs and proceed with such as expeditiously as possible including applications for project funding.

3.4 SELF-SUSTAINABILITY

3.4.1 Introduction

Reflection on project achievements and discussion about appropriate additional actions have raised a very fundamental and significant question-- that of "self-sustainability". Quite obviously, the position one takes on this question will largely determine the amount of additional effort and resources to be marshalled in further direct support of the programs set in motion. Because significantly divergent views were beginning to emerge as final project reports were being prepared, the Terms of Reference for the evaluation requested a detailed examination of the concept and its implications for the projects which had been carried out.

Any position taken on this matter rests on a considerable base of both practical and philosophical assumptions having to do with the nature of culture change, the diffusion of innovations, acceptable versus destructive rates of change, the assimilability of change, the role of external change agents in cultural innovations, theories of microeconomics, problems of intercultural relationships, racial questions, questions having to do with the place of technology in low technology settings, the role of education (in the broad sense) in a low technology setting, problems of nation building, etc., to name just a few.

In the present analysis, we want to look at this issue from two perspectives. First, we'll look at the issue from a structural evolutionary perspective and then from an affective purposive perspective.

3.4.2 Self-sustainability from a structural evolutionary perspective

Looking broadly at the comparative evolutionary structures which characterize nations and communities as they adjust to the demands of technolog, four distinct evolutionary phases can be distinguished. It is suggested here that these phases characterize response to innovation regardless of the scale or scope of the entity being described or the nature of the innovation.

Virginal

In the first, or virginal phase, a society has no experience with an innovation. The presence and management of any possible innovation is entirely in the hands of others. As far as the general society is concerned, the innovation is little more than a mystery and is entirely unsupportable.

Imitative

In the imitative phase, there is some semblance of adjustment to and utilization of an innovation. Some basic procedures have been learned which allow a community to use an innovation in a manner which imitates its implementation in those settings where it was invented. For example, transistor radios and cassette tape records can be found around the world in all but the most isolated communities. However, the use of radio is limited to turning the receiver on and off. There is no ability to repair the receivers, set up transmission facilities, or to extend the technology in new ways.

Adolescent

In the adolescent phase, an innovation has become familiar and considerable expertise-- often home grown-- exists in the use of the innovation. There is a reasonably good understanding of the innovation and how to use it. There is sufficient expertise that the innovation is generally maintainable over an extended period of time. For example, automobiles are widely used in developing countries. Despite the fact there are no automotive engineers in these countries and this technology is not indigenous to these countries, enough local skill has developed in the maintenance and repair of vehicles that the technology (innovation) can survive quite readily. The price paid for lack of mastery of the innovation is more rapid deterioration of vehicles.

The difference between the adolescent and imitative phases is the presence of expertise in the adolescent phase to use and maintain an innovation somewhat indefinitely. On the other hand, the adolescent phase differs from the next (proficient) phase in two key areas. First, because technical mastery of the innovation is incomplete, there will be a gradual degradation of quality and viability in the innovation. Secondly, there is not the technical mastery and often

not the resources to extend the innovation in new and creative areas.

Proficient

In the proficient phase there is a thorough mastery of the technology of an innovation. It can be used and manipulated creatively and can be extended in new ways. For example, the Boeing Corporation builds airplanes. It brings together in one location all the needed expertise to design and build such a machine from the ground up. This expertise can be directed to design and build a whole new class of plane and has the expertise to do so.

It is possible to speak of the self-sustainability of an innovation in any of the last three senses. However, the nature of that sustainability will be qualitatively distinct in each. In the imitative phase, self-sustainability means that it may be possible to implement and maintain an innovation for a period as long as there is little need to make adjustments and there is external support available to keep the innovation functioning as intended.

In the adolescent phase, self-sustainability means that, generally speaking, all the necessary expertise and the needed resources exist to maintain an innovation indefinitely. Over a long period, there will be some degradation of quality, but this loss is usually manageable with periodic efforts to directly address the problem of quality.

Self-sustainability is not a question in the proficient phase. The only limitation is one of will and need for the innovation in question.

In which of these phases are the communities of Mindanao with respect to the innovation of literacy? Most of the evidence would seem to suggest that the target communities are in the imitative phase. According to the model presented here, the innovation of literacy can be considered self-sustainable only in a rather limited sense. If materials are available and there is adequate motivation and interest, there is enough mastery of the technology to continue to use it and facilitate its extension. However, if more than trivial adjustments had to be made, there is not the level of expertise needed to make needed adjustments.

To be effectively independent in the handling of literacy, the communities need to have entered the 'adolescent' stage with respect to the innovation. In the case of literacy and fundamental education, 'adolescence' entails the presence of a reasonable number of persons with enough education that they have a good general grasp of the innovation. It entails having some local 'experts' who can tinker with and maintain the technology of literacy. These conditions do not really exist to the extent necessary to support the innovation.

3.4.3 Self-sustainability from an affective purposive perspective

This second perspective focuses more on issues of justifiability, independence, local versus external control, acceptability, impact, and the purpose of an innovation. The fundamental dichotomy is usually that of local independence versus an external judgment as to the necessity of pressing an innovation on the basis that there is not a suitable local understanding of the innovation to make judgments as to its appropriateness.

At least three philosophical positions can be taken on this matter which can be labelled (arbitrarily) conservative, moderate, progressive. The terms chosen are not meant to prejudice any position in favor of any other. The present evaluation will, in the end, take a position on the matter.

A conservative position

For the sake of the present analysis, the conservative position can be characterized as the one which takes an "early" view of self-sustainability. Underlying assumptions-- implicit or explicit-- include the following: (1) Processes of culture change must be slow and measured to avoid destructive impact; (2) Technological innovations should be mediated largely or entirely through indigenous institutions even when such mediation may threaten the utility of the innovation; (3) To the extent possible, minority groups should be sheltered and protected from external forces and pressures; (4) It is possible and legitimate to pursue a course of action consistent with the above even in the face of community opposition on the basis that other objective experience or evidence has demonstrated that,

in the long run, such is to the community's ultimate benefit.

Some would describe this position as idealistic, romantic, populist, optimistic, isolationist, or naive (none of which is meant to disparage the position as it has much to recommend it). It is the view most likely to be espoused when taking a strong position with respect to defending small groups in a local or restricted context.

To the conservative, "self-sustainability" refers to a condition of having established minimum required conditions for some innovation to continue. Characteristically, these conditions will include (a) a few trained people, (b) appropriate materials and (c) some community interest in the innovation involved. Whether the innovation continues is up to the community and is not really a concern of the outsider.

The progressive position

The progressive position rests largely on two broad assumptions. First, overall group viability (economically, culturally, politically, demographically) is more important than the survival of specific cultural forms. Secondly, when a high degree of disparity of technology exists between two groups which experience some form of intergroup communication, the group having the technological advantage will likely, over time, come to dominate, control, and exploit the second group.

The progressive position might also be described as pragmatic and realist-- and by some as pessimistic, assimilationist or universalist. It might also be described as the "national" or "broad" view.

With respect to the notion of "self-sustainability", the progressive position generally takes the view that this term obscures and confuses the "real" issues. If some program or innovation is truly needed, then appropriate resources must be applied to that program until the necessary results are obtained. In this view self-sustainability only makes sense as it describes a condition of having achieved or being close to achieving the desirable state, e.g, 80% adult literacy or universal education for school aged children.

The moderate position

The moderate position is simply one which falls somewhere in between the two extremes described above. The moderate position attempts to balance the fragility of a traditional cultural system with the reality of the broader context in which that system is located. The moderate is looking for long term viability but not at the price of sacrificing too much of the traditional system or doing so too rapidly. The moderate is often forced into the somewhat contradictory position of promoting change while at the same time trying to shield a community from too much outside influence.

On the matter of "self-sustainability" the moderate will be pragmatic balancing twin requirements that (1) a given innovation move only at a rate that is nondestructive and acceptable to the local community and (2) the necessary conditions exist such that the program is virtually assured of achieving the desired objective without major outside pressure or assistance.

No matter which of these positions one takes, the notion of self-sustainability is still rather poorly understood at least in terms of having predictive models one can apply to given situations with some level of confidence. Social science still depends heavily upon "hind sight" to measure self-sustainability for a given program in a given context.

Despite the lack of precise models, much is known about the general framework within which change develops and the factors which contribute to an innovation becoming indigenous or self-sustaining. We will look at these briefly and then return to the specific case at hand.

3.4.4 What are the conditions for self-sustainability?

For the sake of the immediate discussion, we shall construct a rather simple model of self-sustainability and then apply this model to the subject of evaluation. As in most such analyses, it will be apparent that considerable subjective opinion must come into play in fixing the parameters which guide the application of a model to a particular case.

For a program which entails technological innovation to become self-sustaining, at least the following conditions must exist.

-- Mastery of the technology. There must exist a sufficient cadre of local experts who understand and control the technology of the innovation. Furthermore, these specialists must be willing and able to share their understanding with the larger community.

-- Instrumental value. The innovation must be seen as having sufficient instrumental value to members of the community that they are willing to commit time and resources to mastering that technology.

-- Cultural integration. The mechanisms which are to sustain the innovation and its further diffusion into the community must exist and these must be a part of or at least inimical to traditional institutions and customs.

-- Economic viability. If the innovation requires financial resources to support its diffusion into the community, those financial resources must exist whether to buy equipment, pay services or provide salaries.

-- Supporting momentum. Any innovation which requires activity and commitment beyond that of traditional life must have some existing momentum at the instant it becomes 'independent' in order to be self-sustaining.

-- Indigenous leadership. Self-sustainability cannot even be considered a possibility if a given innovation lacks indigenous leadership. This is a sine qua non of an ongoing project.

Clearly, this model could be further refined. However, it should be adequate for our present purposes. Table 4 contrasts, along the above dimensions, the present conditions to be found in the communities were the evaluated projects were carried out with those conditions posited as being necessary to sustain ongoingness. These latter represent the judgment of the evaluator rather than empirically derived conditions.

	Existing	Proposed as necessary
Mastery of the technology	- Good corps of basic trained teachers	OK
	- A few trained supervisors	Supervisor-teacher ratio of 5 to 1 Supervisors should have a solid formal education background
	- A few minimally trained writers	A small corps of people who can INDEPENDENTLY produce materials; Completed H.S. a minimum requirement
	- The technology is still a novelty in the community	The technology needs to be in regular use in the community by at least 20% before it is a permanent and ingrained value.
Instrumental value	- 10% read religious materials - 5-10% improved ability in economic sphere - Less than 5% - other CD skills such as health specialists	Probably 25 to 40% of the adult population needs to see direct benefit
Cultural integration	- Well attended to conceptually	Needs to be solid
	- Programs presently average about 4 years in operation.	It generally requires at least 10 years before a program is functionally integrated into the fabric of a culture.

Economic viability	- Funds must now be generated internally to continue maintain project activities. Discretionary income does not provide for basic necessities let alone a surplus for education.	The average family needs a cash surplus of $50-$100 beyond basic necessities to support participation in ongoing programs.
Supporting momentum	- Good momentum already exists	OK
Indigenous leadership	- One or two key people in each project providing leadership	There probably ought to be at least five potential leaders to provide rotating leadership. An excessive dependence on one key person makes a program too vulnerable.

Table 4. Chart of comparative conditions for self-sustainability.

3.4.5 To what extent are the existing programs self-sustaining?

As they presently exist, the project components (the four largest ones) initiated under the auspices of this grant could be considered self-sustaining if the following constraints and conditions are deemed tolerable:

IF it is acceptable to reduce program output (new literates) by about 80% over current rates. (Note: At present, each of the major project components has achieved a scale where it is reaching a population roughly equal to the growth rate of the minority community population. An 80% reduction would obviously depress program output to a level well below the rate of population growth. Even this might be acceptable if formal schools were being established on a wide basis. Unfortunately, this is not true in the communities under discussion.)

IF motivation or community pressure were great enough that teachers and supervisors would continue to function with little or no pay.

IF all needed materials continued to be provided from external sources.

IF, for the indefinite future, it is acceptable to maintain the overall level of the technology (basic literacy) at a level no greater than the present level (in the qualitative sense).

IF it is acceptable to limit the applicability of the technology to basic literacy skills versus extending it to development related activities.

IF we can be quite confident that nothing will happen to the few key leaders who undergird present project activities.

In terms of potential self-sustainability, the existing projects are strongest in (a) community and individual motivation to see the program continue; (b) the establishment of indigenous structures having the know-how and management ability to independently keep the programs running and even growing; (c) the existence of materials (as long as these are not exhausted) to support the continuing operation of the program at existing levels of sophistication.

Conversely, those factors-- in order of salience-- which are most apt to compromise self-sustainability are (a) financial inability of indigenous teachers and supervisory personnel to volunteer their time indefinitely to keep the programs operating; (b) the lack of indigenous expertise to reproduce materials or to develop new materials; (c) the lack of adequate links to regional or national structures which could provide national support for these programs; (d) in some cases, the lack of primary and secondary schools which could, in time, overcome obstacles (b) and (c).

3.4.6 What are the necessary conditions for self-sustainability?

The earlier discussion has hinted at some of the conditions which are criterial to the self-sustainability of a program. At the risk of appearing to over simplify the complexity of the issue, the following guidelines are being proposed as minimum conditions for self-sustainability in the case of the Philippine projects.

Resources

Financial viability (per capita income of at least $50 above basic living needs;)
or
(a means of generating capital equal to $25 per student per year;)

Personnel (25 individuals or one percent of resident population able to devote at least 1,000 hours/year to the program.)

Infrastructure (at least one stable and viable local institution ready to lend vigorous support to the program.)
and
(Available schools offering at least a primary education to at least 30% of the school age population.)

Technology (control of)

Supervisors (A corps of supervisors with five) to ten years experience in all aspects of program supervision.)

Coordinators (At least five individuals with two to five years experience in all aspects of program management.)

Materials (Adequate materials or the technology to produce them are readily available.)

Values, Attitudes and Skills

Existing literacy (At least 25% of the adult population is already literate.)

Motivation (Significant motivation to become literate is widespread in the target population.)

Instrumentality (Literacy skills are valued, needed, and exercised on a regular basis in personal and community life. Literates can and do gain new information relevant to their needs from the practice of literacy.)

Institutionalization (Literacy and related activities have become sufficiently institutionalized that they fill a well understood role in the community. It is proposed that this does not happen in less than one full generation.)

If, for the sake of discussion, we accept the above minimum goals as those necessary for self-sustainability or ongoingness, we can then evaluate each of the project components under consideration as to whether they meet

these minimum goals. For the sake of illustration, a sample analysis is provided of one point, "Existing literacy", using data on program development in the Cotabato Manobo literacy project.

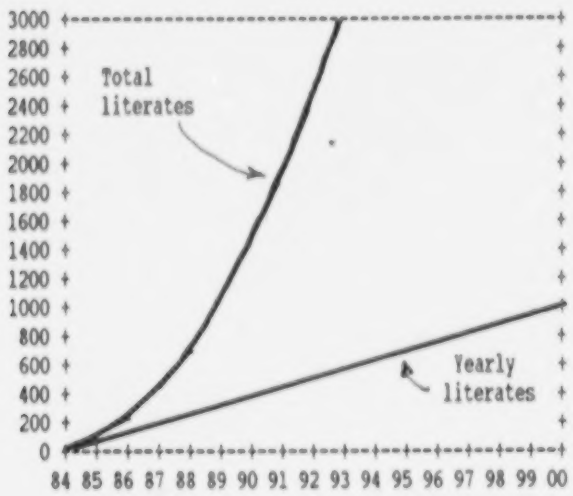

Table 5. Regression curve of projected literacy program growth among the Cotabato Manobo.

In Table 5 the lower curve projects results in number of literates per year if literacy were to continue to expand among the Manobo population at a rate equal to recent expansion (last four years). Since the curve describing expansion is linear rather than exponential, this is not an unreasonable expectation given suitable financial resources.

The second curve then projects cumulative literates on the basis of yearly expansion (but assuming zero attrition which is not realistic). Using such a graph, it is easy to project the time needed to reach a given overall rate of literacy. For example, given a total estimated population of 15,000 and assuming that 60% of these are adults (14 years old and above), we have a total target population of 9,000 persons. If our target percentage of adult literates were to be 25%, or 2,250, the graph indicates that this goal could be reached with four more years of project activity (end of 1992). Two

additional years would be needed to reach 40% of the target population.

Similarly, having established such projections, project planning can work backwards to determine the numbers of teachers, supervisors, coordinators, materials, training sessions, etc. needed to support project activity. Knowing this, realistic estimates of financial inputs and personnel time can be calculated to reach desired goals.

Each pre-condition can be similarly analyzed to determine when conditions of true self-sustainability are likely to be reached. It is left to project personnel to pursue such an analysis in greater detail.

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-- None of the project components yet matches the set of criteria set forth above. Two of the components-- Tboli and Blaan-- are much closer than the others. Nonetheless, even these projects are judged to be at least 3 to 5 years from meeting the criteria. The others are probably closer to 10 years away from true self-sustainability.

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Recommendation:

It is recommended that SIL and TAP undertake to do, on a pilot basis, a careful analysis of two of the seven project components-- one advanced and one less so-- with respect to the above or a similar set of criteria. The purposes for engaging in such an exercise would include (a) developing a clear working definition of ongoingness and (b) laying the foundation for possible follow-up project proposals. (It is not the purpose of this recommendation to imply that there is an obligation to develop follow-up proposal, nor that SIL and TAP are obliged to adhere to the definition of ongoingness supplied in this analysis.)

3.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF PROGRAM

To a considerable extent, previous discussion has touched on the significance of the program. The questions raised by an analysis of the relationship between literacy and development are nearly endless and well beyond the scope of this evaluation. Therefore, the discussion, here, will be limited to some generalities and a brief look at the relationship as manifest in the projects being evaluated.

3.5.1 (Importance of literacy and education for ethnic minorities.)

Ethnicity is but one of many facts of life for peoples and nations around the world. It is only one of many possible ways to distinguish one group of people from another. If the conditions of normal and effective living in some quarter of the world require literacy, then this is true whether ethnicity is also involved or not.

All groups have processes of education, formal or informal, which serve to prepare the young person for a normal and productive role in his sociocultural context. The scope, content, and nature of the educational process must be largely shaped by reference to "that which is needed to prepare the young person for a normal and productive role in his sociocultural context". While the specifications may vary according to ideology and available resources, the basic principle remains.

In the Philippine case, the cultural minorities are part of a politically pluralistic open market system. National standards of education and technology are moderate to fairly high. Many of the cultural minorities living in Mindanao are significantly behind in terms of preparation to function effectively in the broad national system. From a national perspective this represents a deficiency in available education of which literacy is a primary initial component. As long as this educational disparity exists, political and economic disparity will also exist.

It is possible to take the position that the retention of traditional cultural forms is more

important than the existence of moderate levels of political and economic disparity. Unfortunately, the modern realities of shrinking resources in concert with the vagaries of human nature often conspire to convert such disparities into the enemy rather than the supporter of traditional cultural forms.

The most acceptable goal, then, would seem to be that of facilitating the availability of the education and preparation needed for viability, but doing so in a manner that supports and reinforces personal, community, and cultural identity and integrity.

The groups aided by this project are anxious for the kind of assistance provided and more. In their own analyses, they are "behind" and need help to "catch up". They are unanimous in wanting even more help, not less.

3.5.2 (The provision of functional literacy materials relevant to personal and community development.)

Program performance in this area needs to be viewed from two perspectives. On the one hand we have the statement of project objectives which did NOT include any specifications for the development of such materials. In addition we have the fact that SIL personnel and strategy are stronger in the area of basic literacy than general development. Finally, we have the theoretical debate as to the effectiveness of the 'functional literacy approach' to literacy and development. For example there is some research showing that even when functional literature is available, it is of less interest than "pulp literature".

On the other hand we have the needs and expectations of the local people who WANT help and information on many practical subjects including agriculture, family care, health, appropriate technology, etc. In addition we have the well documented fact that new literates can readily relapse into illiteracy if no effort is made to maintain these skills (Versluyz, 1977; Sunanchai, 1988; Abhari, 1978). Finally, there is the philosophical conviction of development funding agencies (including CIDA) that development is a long term process. In this view, literacy is a necessary building block, but does not, in and of itself, fully justify the investment of development capital.

In terms of the first perspective (Position A), project impact closely reflects the statement of objectives set forth in the formal project proposal. Any assessment of impact on objectives not included in the project statement, no matter the performance, would be somewhat unfair.

Conversely, with respect to Position B, it seems safe to say that no one involved in the project believes that literacy is an end in and of itself. Literacy activities have external objectives whether ideological, functional, economic, or purely recreational. As an organization having a charter commitment to service, SIL Philippines has a moral, if not a legal obligation to respond to, within reason and the limits of its resources, practical felt needs of the communities it serves. In keeping with this commitment as well as the long term vision of those agencies providing development assistance, SIL needs to weigh carefully its commitment and performance in this area with respect to sponsoring agency expectations, national expectations as reflected in contractual agreements, and local statements of felt need.

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-- The project did, in fact, make a small contribution to functional literacy. The numeracy component was enthusiastically received with accompanying signals that even more attention be given to this component. The series of eight (8) health care booklets published in Manobo and other health booklets in other languages have had significant impact. Other functional items included a bilingual dictionary and phrase book, a cookbook, and a number of general interest readers.

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Recommendation:

From any perspective, only modest attention was paid to functional literacy in this project. To meet this need, it would be very appropriate to consider a follow-up project having objectives specific to functional literature in keeping with the expressed needs of local communities.

3.5.3 (Linking literacy and development in ways which reflect the felt needs of a community.)

The SIL commitment to literacy is partly ideological and partly functional with the former predominating for a significant sector of the organization's fieldworkers. There is, however, a growing willingness to make a greater commitment to the support of literacy in the broader developmental sense. In the immediate future this commitment is most apt to be realized by the establishment of organizational linkages to government and para-government literacy and development initiatives.

At the level of the individual field worker, there are two operative factors. The first is that of vision or orientation. The training of the typical field worker does not include attention to the appropriate and functional links between literacy and development. Therefore, his activities in the field ignore such issues.

Secondly, the total package of demands on the fieldworker are already so extensive that the addition of yet other commitments is problematic. A more viable solution, and one which will be dealt with in greater detail in the next section of the evaluation, is that of bringing in other personnel to meet this need.

3.5.4 Concluding summary

SIL Philippines is not a general development agency. At the same time, its field strategy and the commitment of its fieldworkers are resources ideally suited to effective long term development. Both internally and externally, there is an ever-present temptation to press for a stronger commitment to employ this resource in the realization of development objectives.

In the view of this evaluator, SIL could make a significantly greater impact in the areas of literacy and development and their interlinkage by making only modest and subtle adjustments in philosophy and strategy, adjustments which would not compromise its present identity and raison d'être.

3.6 Role of the Translators Association of the Philippines

3.6.1 Background

The Translators Association of the Philippines (TAP) is an organization of Philippine nationals whose structure, purposes, goals, and strategies largely parallel those of SIL Philippines. As originally conceived, the organization would do work similar to that of SIL but in a complementary fashion, that is, in projects or project tasks where SIL was not or did not expect to work.

As a new organization, TAP is still evaluating itself with a view to determining what its ideal role should be. With a majority of its membership specializing in literacy and community development (55% fulltime and another 20% partial time), a significant part of the present organizational focus is in this area. Funding assistance received through the present project was explicitly linked to this organizational focus.

The following two statements taken from the original project proposal set forth the basis for the funding assistance received:

2. "To train Philippinos as health care educators who in turn will train local people as primary health care practitioners."

2. "SIL's goal is to train qualified Philippinos to take over program responsibilities especially in the areas of literacy and health education. One of the seven projects is managed entirely by Philippinos, five others include significant supervision by SIL trained Philippinos."

The funding assistance received was divided roughly equally between training and field support. Therefore, the evaluation will concentrate on these two activities.

3.6.2 TAP training programs

The TAP training program is quite rigorous. To enter the program, one must be a college graduate thus guaranteeing a relatively high degree of professionalism for the Philippine setting.

TAP's training protocol is divided into two parts: academic and applied field training. The academic training program consists of twelve graduate level courses allocated into three semesters (summers) of training in coordination with the Philippine Normal College. Course instructors are largely M.A. level Philippine professionals.

The applied field training consists of two segments--the first of eight (8) months and the second of (11) months. Trainees in both segments are allocated in rural cultural communities for the time frames indicated. The first segment is a more structured experience with a higher level of supervision and orientation. The second segment is more of an apprenticeship in that teams are assigned to "actual" field projects and work toward the accomplishment of current program goals in partnership with senior personnel.

During the funding period, 31 Philippinos finished part or all of the above training prior to joining TAP.

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-- TAP personnel appear to be very suitably trained for work in literacy and community development. The linguistic training is modest and pragmatic and does not generally support professional level research and publication.

-- TAP personnel show real strength in effective community level work. They spend more time in the community (than SIL personnel), learn the local languages more readily, and seem to make good cross-cultural adjustments. They also seem to be stronger in the area of networking, perhaps because they are themselves Philippinos. They seem to be accepted and respected by the local people.

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3.6.3 TAP contribution to funded projects

According to project documentation, seven (7) TAP personnel played primary roles in the seven component projects. Four of these, however, were concentrated in just one project component, the Cotabato Manobo. Each of these projects was a cooperative effort between SIL and TAP personnel with the roles and responsibilities dependent upon individual capabilities, presence in the communities, and negotiated divisions of responsibilities.

TAP contribution to health projects

TAP personnel played primary roles in the development of the health practitioner program in the Cotabato Manobo area with 27 health workers trained, 12 clinics established and in operation, and specialized health seminars attended by another 80 people.

In addition to this effort, TAP medical personnel working in other areas (not specifically targeted for direct project assistance) have played primary roles in training an additional 20 health practitioners, training 92 regular teachers in the use of specially prepared health modules, establishing a large clinic, and sponsoring a number of health seminars among various communities.

In addition to the above, one TAP member is working on a Master's Degree in Public Health by way of professional upgrading.

TAP contribution to literacy projects

TAP personnel played key roles in three funded projects, Ata Manobo, Cotabato Manobo, and Western Bukidnon Manobo. In two of the programs, Ata Manobo and Western Bukidnon Manobo, TAP personnel played primary roles while in Cotabato Manobo, the TAP personnel played a strong supporting role. Project results in these three components include 1068 literates, 86 teachers trained, 7 supervisors trained, 15 writers trained, 132 fluency class graduates, and 13 titles published with 5,500 copies.

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-- It is impossible to quantify the relative contribution of TAP versus SIL personnel to these projects. Qualitatively, the TAP contribution was solid and steady.

In the judgment of the project evaluator, TAP has outstanding potential to make signficant contributions to literacy, health, and general development programs among the country's minorities. This potential has not previously been realized because (1) the organization is new and is still in the process of establishing its identity and focus and (2) literacy and development programs require signficant amounts of funding assistance which TAP has not had.

The performance of TAP and TAP personnel in programs where funding assistance has been made available reflects very favorably on a development model in which committed nationals organize to lend assistance in areas of need.

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Recommendation:

As an organization, TAP needs to establish its identity and its priorities whether in literacy and community development or other fields. The organization should take firm steps to make such decisions.

Recommendation:

If TAP does decide to develop a specialty in literacy and community development, it needs to begin to develop linkages with other Philippine NGOs so that channels can be developed for funding assistance.

Recommendation:

If TAP does decide to develop a specialty in literacy and community development, it needs to develop an appropriate long range organizational plan, including specific initiatives in keeping with such a specialization.

Recommendation:

As SIL and TAP have a good working relationship, SIL should introduce TAP, as an organization, to its circle of contacts in the Ministry of Education.

3.7 NETWORKS AND LINKAGES

One area not addressed by the Terms of Reference which merits some comment is that of project activities relative to regional and national agencies and structures involved in literacy, education, and development.

3.7.1 At the regional level

All project components had some linkage to regional education entities, usually an office of nonformal education. These linkages included some reporting and occasional on site visits, but primarily the granting of certificates to new literates.

There were also some links to formal education officials primarily concerning the need for teachers or schools in particular communities and the resolution of salary difficulties for teachers working in remote areas.

Because most project activities took place in locales distant from population centers or to which travel is difficult, interaction and coordination is difficult. Furthermore, many such offices are already understaffed and overworked and have little time and few resources to devote to the cultural communities.

Despite all these difficulties, it is crucial that such links be developed and maintained. The reasons are several. First, the activities being carried out fall within the technical and political jurisdiction of such agencies and it is proper that these agencies be thoroughly aware of the activities taking place.

Secondly, at some point, these agencies will be taking full responsibility for direct oversight and implementation of program activity. The sooner agency personnel are integrated into project design, implementation, and management, the sooner they will be prepared to assume primary responsibility.

Thirdly, as an NGO working under contract to the Ministry of Education, SIL needs to have a working relationship with regional agencies such that work done

is viewed as "our" achievement and not just "their" achievement.

3.7.2 At the national level

At present SIL enjoys a very positive relationship with the Ministry of Education in terms of personal relationships and approval of its work. However, there is not a working relationship of the sort where representatives from both entities sit down together and review in depth, SIL's proposed activities, priorities for the coming year, allocation of resources, etc. Because there is not this relationship, SIL's work in the field of literacy is largely unknown in the Ministry. Other than the existence of TAP, neither is there any plan for a "transfer of technology" to Philippine specialists who will have future responsibility for literacy and education among the cultural communities.

Having such a relationship entails risks and benefits for both sides and these have to be weighed carefully. In taking a long term development perspective as to what may happen in the cultural communities, one given is that SIL personnel will leave their work at some point considering it to be complete. To maximize the likelihood that work presently being done by SIL and TAP personnel will not be lost or wasted, all parties need to give attention to the process of program and technology transfer.

3.7.3 Other NGOs and development agencies

In order to assist cultural communities in meeting felt needs beyond literacy, there is a need to know what resources exist which can be called upon to provide such assistance. Since SIL's expertise does not extend very far into the area of general development, it needs to be able to draw upon other expertise. To do so requires that good linkages exist between SIL and these agencies so that appropriate communication and coordination can take place.

Recommendation:

In carrying out significant literacy projects, field linguists and literacy specialists need to develop close working relationships with appropriate regional agencies. Ideally, this relationship should include a review of specific project proposals before these are formally submitted for approval.

Recommendation:

It is recommended that officials from SIL and the Ministry of Education hold quiet discussions reviewing (a) the matter of technology transfer and (b) mutually agreeable procedures to be followed in designing and implementing larger literacy initiatives.

Recommendation:

Recognizing that it takes time and effort to build links with external organizations and that these do not always prove to be satisfactory, it is nonetheless recommended that both SIL and TAP review their options and seek to develop at least some links which may be beneficial to all concerned especially the cultural communities.

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4. SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Since most major and relevant issues have been already addressed, this summary statement will address only the global picture.

4.1 Conclusions

The literacy projects, especially those five that had the relative freedom to develop as well as a continuity of technical personnel, showed strong development and favorable results. The projects were based on a two stage model which proved to be well adapted to the context. The projects had strong community support and enjoyed high levels of indigenous involvement. The materials used were based on good linguistic principles and proved effective pedagogically.

The health practitioner program is impressive in terms of how much was accomplished with so little. Trainees were literacy program graduates with little or no other formal education. With patient and culturally sensitive instruction, these trainees have developed to the point they can offer rudimentary health care to fifty percent of the language community's population. The personnel who implemented this program are to be commended for the outstanding job done.

None of the projects can be considered to be fully independent or freestanding. The literacy programs are relatively well developed qua literacy programs, but need stronger contextualization. By this is meant (a) better linkages with other similar programs; (b) development of mechanisms and materials whereby literacy skills can be applied to practical felt needs; (c) a process of institutionalization whereby literacy becomes a fully functional part of community life; and (d) a broader understanding of and integration of programs into the fabric of national literacy and education planning and objectives.

The health practitioner program is too new and too technologically demanding to be considered independent. Much more work needs to be done to strengthen training, to develop trainers, to extend the program, acquire and teach the use of reference materials, to develop better

mechanisms for acquiring medicine and equipment, and to integrate the program with external agencies willing and able to support it technically and administratively, if not financially.

The Translators Association of the Philippines is a new organization made up entirely of Philippine nationals. With a dedicated and professionally trained membership (47), it has tremendous potential to provide meaningful assistance to the cultural communities of the country.

To do so it needs to clearly establish its identity and its priorities. Its primary handicap is the lack of financial resources. Among the findings of the evaluation is that of clear evidence this organization and its personnel have the tools to make a strong contribution to development goals for cultural minorities if they have financial assistance.

4.2 Recommendations

Numerous specific recommendations are scattered throughout the evaluation. Only one general recommendation will be added at this point.

Recommendation:

On the basis of significant program achievement and a need to reinforce and extend what has been done, it is recommended to all parties that appropriate follow-up projects and proposals be developed and implemented. Any such project extension should include the following components: (1) further support of the existing model extending it to a broader segment of the target population; (2) development of functional literacy materials including the mechanisms and linkages required to make use of the technology implicit in such materials; (3) a program to develop effective "technology transfer" between SIL and TAP and regional and national educational agencies; (4) further support to solidify the health practitioner program; and, optionally, (5) a small program to test the health practitioner model by developing a similar model in another cultural community.

LITERACY, HEALTH AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES
Proposed Terms of Reference

To conduct a review and evaluation of the CIDA funded literacy and health education projects, focusing specifically on:

1. Program Goals and Objectives

   - in general terms, including the underlying Branch philosophy regarding the role of literacy and strategies for achieving those goals.

   - the specific goals and objectives of each of the literacy and health projects included in the CIDA funded program.

2. Structure of Program

   This includes a review of program design, manner of implementation, project staffing and management, as well as training, supervision, materials production and distribution, native writers programs, etc. developed or operated as part of the Literacy Program.

3. Program Effectiveness

   This should include a review of:

   - the statistical reporting system and procedures used in the program.

   - results obtained, by project.

   - difficulties encountered.

   - ongoing use of literacy skills.

Please also comment on the functionality of the literacy program and whether, and if so, in what ways, the literacy program is leading to development in other areas. In this connection a review of the impact of the

individual projects on local communities, and impact on women* should be included.

* A consideration of "impact on women" now is an automatic requirement of all CIDA funded projects. Although not a requirement at the time the project was approved, and consequently not included as a specific focus of the project, your observations on this aspect of the project would be appreciated.

4. Self Management and Self-Sufficiency

It is important to distinguish between different concepts of self-sufficiency. In the original project proposal the term "self-sustaining" is used. A review and commentary on the terms used is necessary for a good understanding of the achievements of the program. In this context some of the key questions are:

- To what extent have individual literacy projects become self-sustaining? If they have become self-sustaining, in what sense? If not, for what reasons?

- What are the conditions and requirements for reaching self-management and self-sufficiency or self-sustainability?

- In what ways and at which rates do self-sustaining programs continue to develop, reaching out to the entire language community?

5. Significance of Program

This refers to an evaluation of the program from a "development" point of view; including:

- The importance of literacy and education for ethnic minorities.

- Providing functional literacy materials relevant to personal growth and community development.

- Linking literacy and development in ways which reflect the felt needs of a community.

6. Role of the Translators Association of the Philippines

Since the Translators Association of the Philippines (TAP) was involved in the project and received a significant amount of funding assistance, the evaluation should include a review of the role and contribution made by TAP.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A "COMPLETE" LITERACY PROGRAM?

(Excerpted from a policy statement written by Doris Porter, SIL Literacy Coordinator for the Philippines)

Given the overall goals and working within the constraints we have set for ourselves, how do we define a completed program in terms of SIL involvement? What do we say should be in place before we can feel comfortable about withdrawing?

The answer to the question may be summed up in the word "self-sustaining". That is we recognize that it is not likely that all of the literacy needs of the community will have been met when SIL terminates its involvement, but we would feel we have done our job if we (or others who are able to do the same job) have brought that community to the level of having the capacity to operate independently. That is not to say that the standard of intensity will continue exactly the same, but we expect that the thrust will keep moving in the desired direction which is a growing number of readers who both see the value of and increasingly use their literateness. The starting point is likely to be different for each group because of their varying circumstances but the goal remains the same.

There are, of course, different viewpoints of what is envisioned in the word "self-sustaining". The differences are dependent on the goals of the organization concerned. Therefore we need to further explain what we mean by that term. In the context of SIL Philippines, "self-sustaining" may be defined as a literacy program that has gained sufficient momentum in the three vital areas which we feel are necessary for ongoingness. These areas are: (1) motivation and general interest, (2) material production, and (3) trained personnel. The objective is to bring the local community to the place where they can, and likely will, carry the program to wherever they may want to carry it, within of course, the bounds of their resources.

It is not difficult to measure whether materials and trained personnel are adequate. Obviously if people have acquired literateness through classes conducted by members of the community making use of the prepared materials, then these areas are sufficiently provided for. It is more difficult, however, to determine

whether there is sufficient motivation to carry out a literacy program without outside incentives, especially if personnel involved in that program have been on some kind of salary. It is my contention though, that if literateness becomes a significant value to a critical mass, then pressure will be placed on those who have benefitted from literacy to share the good. We can to some degree measure critical mass by the demand for literacy classes.

If then, the three above mentioned vital components are operational, we feel our involvement can more or less be happily terminated.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Currently SIL has literacy projects at some stage of development in 28 languages in the Philippines. A few projects have had to be prematurely cut off from SIL input for various reasons such as lack of personnel or peace and order problems. In others, literacy rates are already high enough so as not to constitute a need. In a few others there are needs but no personnel to carry out a program. The currently operating projects vary from full scale literacy programs* to working on establishing distribution channels only.

Presently there are only three projects which have been brought to the level where we feel we can leave them more or less on their own. In 1987 and 1988 we will be observing them to see how they manage. We would like to give them two years to see if indeed they do prove to be ongoing. These three have all been funded by the Canadian International Development Agency and the Alberta government for the past five years. By saying we will leave them on their own does not mean that we will no longer provide encouragement, counsel, or reprints of needed materials. It does mean that we will not be paying salaries or fund workshops or training sessions. If at the end of the trial period, the project fails to sustain itself, then we would again consider outside funding if warranted by continuing low literacy rates.

There are a number of projects where because of limited literacy needs outside funding is not required. There are others that need only minimal funding. But there are still programs where the need is great enough that to get a program on its feet will require more financial input than the SIL team can handle.

The aim of SIL's literacy programs in the Philippines is to help the communities in the various language groups to reach the level of self-sustaining, ongoing use of literature in the content areas which will best meet their felt needs. This will require various types of programs depending on what the needs are. In some cases the needs have not yet been clearly identified. So the task remaining is to determine what needs are still not met and develop strategies for meeting those needs so that the vast potential for national development residing in the human resources of the minority groups of the Philippines might be realized.

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*A full scale program is four pronged, working at four levels. It includes (1) basic instruction in reading and writing skills, (2) promotion of the reading habit, (3) indigenous production of vernacular materials, and (4) establishment of distribution channels.

A CASE STUDY

It may be helpful at this point to illustrate our view of a completed program in terms of SIL involvement, by describing one of the SIL literacy projects in the Philippines. The project I have chosen is Tboli. I choose that for two reasons. One is that I am most familiar with that project having worked there for 17 years and the other is because it typifies a number of other language groups, especially on the island of Mindanao where the greater literacy needs are.

The Tboli Literacy Project

The Tboli people are located in the province of South Cotabato, Mindanao. There is an estimated 90,000 speakers of this language living in the central plain of the Alah Valley and spreading out to the south to the seacoast, to the east to Tupi and to the west to Lake Sebu and beyond. They are bordered by speakers of Blaan on the east, Cotabato Manobo to the northwest and Maguindanaon to the north.

Tboli was one of the early language projects entered by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics when SIL began its work in the Philippines in 1953. The first years involved language and culture learning, formation of a practical orthography, and linguistic analysis as well as all the other things that go into establishing a home and relationships in a new and remote area.

Later, when the extent of the literacy needs were established, materials were developed to begin to meet those needs. After considerable testing and revision, a set of primers based on the phonic method was completed.

Progress was slow because of limited personnel. The literacy rate was estimated to be in the vicinty of 5% or less. There was almost no educational opportunity for a Tboli child. Even the possibility of education being perceived as having value was barely a glimmer on the horizon. Most adults, if they showed any interest at all, felt that literacy was definitely for children only. They felt they were too busy and too old. Furthermore, they were not convinced that being literate

met any real need. A few young people stepped out on a limb and came to classes and learned to read and write.

More than fifteen years elapsed from the inception of the project before any significant change began to occur. It had taken that much time of persistent effort with a student here, a student there, a few graduates here, a few graduates there. More materials were produced both for the prereading stage, primer stage, and post primer stage.

Finally seven adults were convinced they wanted to learn to read and the first strictly adult class was begun. These were highly motivated people, mainly because they had become Christians and wanted to be able to read the Scriptures which had been translated into Tboli. After approximately 120 hours of instruction, all seven successfully completed the course.

Seeing the accomplishments of these adults provided incentives for others to try their hand at learning to read. And so the ball started to roll. As it gained momentum requests for teachers became more than the SIL team and the few people they had trained to teach could handle. As a result, a full scale lay teacher training program got underway and classes were begun.

As the program grew, the costs grew. Soon it became evident that the limited finances of the SIL team could not handle a program that would meet the increasing demand for classes. At that point outside funding entered the picture. A proposal went to the Canadian International Development Agency and the Alberta government to underake funding for the Tboli literacy project as well as a number of other programs which could also use financial assistance.

In 1982 a fully funded literacy program got underway. The outside funding enabled the SIL team to produce and publish additional reading materials, purchase needed equipment, operate training workshops, offer a small honorarium for teachers and supervisors, and cover consultant travel costs.

In the period June 1982-June 1986, the Tboli literacy project has produced 2 literacy coordinators, 7 supervisors, 156 lay teachers, and 2,809 new readers. Some 8 new titles have been added to the 61 which had been previously published, making a total of 69 titles available in the language. These books cover topics in health, geography, mathematics, simple science, cultural

stories, folktales, Bible stories and translated Scripture as well as instructional material to teach reading, writing and to build fluency. Interest in learning to read is high in an estimated 80% of the population. Formal education for their children is perceived as highly valuable as evidenced by the increase of Tboli children enrolled in school. So then, the necessary components seem to be in place. Therefore in our estimation the Tboli literacy program is now ready to stand on its own.

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